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The Irish University Question
THE CATHOLIC CASE

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THE CATHOLIC CASE

BY THE REV. FATHER JOHN J. CONNELLEY, S. J.

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

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The Irish University Question

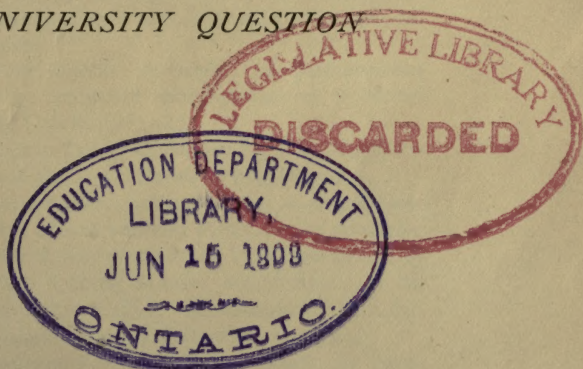
THE CATHOLIC CASE

SELECTIONS FROM THE SPEECHES AND WRITINGS

OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN

William G. Walsh

WITH A HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE IRISH
UNIVERSITY QUESTION



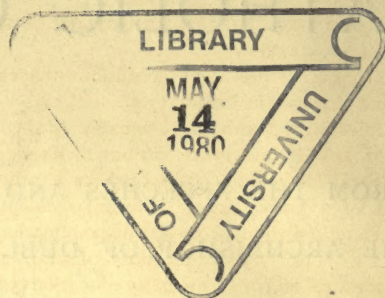
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INTRODUCTION.

SINCE my appointment to the Archbishopric of Dublin in 1885, I have frequently had occasion to speak and to write in support of the Catholic claim in the matter of University Education in Ireland. More than a year ago, it was suggested to me that it might be of help to some of those who, like myself, are engaged in the public advocacy of that claim, if what I have said and written in support of it from time to time were now brought together and published in connected form. The suggestion has led to the publication of this volume. The compiling of it has been a work of far greater labour than I had anticipated when taking it in hand, and, as the time at my disposal for any such work is necessarily limited, the completion of it has been delayed until now.

In what I have said upon our University question, on the many occasions on which I have written or spoken about it in public during the past twelve years, there has necessarily been a good deal of repetition. In compiling this volume, I have, as far as possible, avoided inserting anything that would be a mere repetition of what was to be found in it elsewhere. But, from the nature of the case, a certain amount of repetition could not well be avoided. For, in some instances, I found that a passage in which something was repeated that had been said before,

contained also some additional matter which, for one reason or another, I considered it of advantage to retain.

In the general arrangement of the volume, the order of time has, as a rule, been followed.

I have, however, devoted the first section to a general sketch of the Irish University question, indicating, in outline, the various stages through which this question has passed and the chief events that have marked its progress, since the establishment of Trinity College and the University of Dublin in the sixteenth century, down to the present time.¹

In some few instances, I have taken advantage of the opportunity now afforded me to call attention to some important aspects of the case that I had not previously dealt with, or that I had not dealt with as fully as I have now done.²

I have thought it useful also to insert the various statements upon the University question that have been drawn up by our Irish Episcopal body from time to time, since 1885. I publish these, not merely as expositions of the Catholic claim, formulated by the venerable body to which I have the honour to belong, but also as statements in every detail of which I personally concur.

I have inserted also a number of important statements

¹ See pages 1-50.

² See pages 243, 244; and 331-351.

in reference to the Irish University question, made within recent years by responsible British statesmen and by other public men, notably by some who stand in a position of special prominence amongst our Protestant fellow-countrymen.¹

Since the last sheet of this volume has passed through the press, a fresh Ministerial statement on the subject, more important in many respects than any of those that have as yet come to us on any such responsible authority, has been made in the House of Commons by Mr. A. J. Balfour, the present First Lord of the Treasury.

Speaking on the part of the Government, in the course of a brief debate on an amendment to the Address, moved by Mr. Engledow, M.P. for North Kildare,² on the 22nd of January in the present year, Mr. Balfour, having first discussed some general aspects of the question, said:—

“We have to accept the fact that, unless we are able to contrive some system of higher education in which the Roman Catholic population will consent to take part, it is vain for us to hope that higher education will be practically brought within the

¹ See pages 121-135; 191-203; 245-253; and 411-414.

² The amendment moved by Mr. Engledow was to add to the Address the following words:—“And we humbly represent to Your Majesty that the Catholics of Ireland have suffered under an intolerable grievance in respect of University Education; that the existence of this grievance has been recognised by successive Governments; and that it is the duty of the Government immediately to propose legislation with a view to placing Irish Catholics on a footing of equality with their fellow-countrymen in all matters concerned with University Education.”

In consequence of the satisfactory character of Mr. Balfour's speech, Mr. Engledow, on the advice of his colleagues, withdrew his amendment without asking for a division.

reach of a large number of the members of that community which certainly ought to take advantage of it.”¹

He then referred to a former speech of his in which he had said that the provision to be made for the higher education of Irish Catholics should be made, not by the establishment of a Catholic University—empowered, as a University necessarily would be, to give degrees,—but by the establishment of a Catholic College,² in which students could be prepared for obtaining the degrees of a University, so that there might be, as he expressed it,—

“a prospect of the students of the Roman Catholic College meeting the students of the other Protestant Colleges in equal competition, and that the general standard of education would thereby be kept up.”³

He added, however, that since he had made that statement, he had become impressed with “the disadvantages, from the purely educational point of view, of dividing the examining authority from the teaching authority.”⁴ And, developing this point, he said :—

“The system prevalent at this moment in the London University and in the Royal University of Ireland undoubtedly has some merits, but I think that almost all those who are interested in higher education will agree with me when I say that the general experience of mankind is that, if you want to get the best results, you cannot and ought not to depend on examination

¹ Parliamentary Debates, Jan. 22nd, 1897, page 322.

² See page 202 and pages 219—228 of this volume.

³ Parliamentary Debates, Jan. 22nd, 1897, page 322.

⁴ *Ibid.*

alone, but that you ought to associate the teaching body with the examining body, and that the same influences which prevail with the examining should prevail also with the teaching.”¹

All this plainly pointed to the conclusion that the solution to be aimed at by the Government should proceed on the line of establishing a Catholic University, rather than on that of establishing merely a Catholic College.

Mr. Balfour then went on to indicate the two great objects to be kept in view in the working out of a satisfactory scheme on the line which he had now come to favour. “We have,” he said, “to meet a double condition—

“We have got so to contrive a University that it shall meet with the general approval of, or be largely used by, . . . those classes of the Roman Catholic population who now refuse to take advantage of the existing institution. That is our first object.”²

And then—

“Our second object must be that when they carry into effect their willingness to attend the lectures and to gain all the advantages of this new educational institution, the institution itself should be worthy of the efforts of this House, worthy of the great cause in which it is to be set up, and should be of a character which, if it does not speedily rival Trinity College in its immense services to the civilisation of the United Kingdom and of the world, shall at all events in the course of generations rival that great institution.”³

Mr. Balfour's considerateness in allowing to an Irish Catholic University the long range of time implied by his

¹ *Ibid*, pages 322, 323.

² *Ibid*, page 324.

³ *Ibid*.

phrase, "the course of generations," before it could be expected to rival Trinity College, is the outcome doubtless of the kindly view that he takes of our position, knowing, as he does, the many and embarrassing restrictions by which we have hitherto been hampered. But the estimate thus, not unnaturally perhaps, formed by him, cannot but seem almost ludicrous to those who are really in a position to forecast what must inevitably occur before the lapse of many years, if, through the establishment of a University, adequately equipped and endowed, a fair start be now secured for us in the race of honourable and friendly rivalry with the hitherto highly-favoured Protestant foundation in College Green.¹

And the closing words of Mr. Balfour's speech seem to leave no room for doubt that the new University contemplated by him is to be an institution in all respects the equal of Trinity College and of the University of Dublin, in so far as equality in this matter of University education is dependent upon advantages which it is in the power of the State to confer. For, as he said :—

"I am sincerely anxious that in this matter we should put all sectarian prejudices aside, and attempt to meet the wishes of Ireland in this respect, and I am certain that those who sit on the other side of the House, and who are most opposed to me in general politics, will agree with me at all events in this, that we should be doing Ireland no service whatever if in our attempt to give them a form of higher education acceptable to the majority

of the people, we were to set up either a College or a University which would not compare on equal terms with other educational institutions on both sides of St. George's Channel."¹

"On equal terms." Here at length we have an open official declaration of a desire to settle the Irish University Question on the basis of equality—the first such declaration that, in this section of our Irish Education question,² has as yet been made by a responsible Minister of the Crown speaking in Parliament in his official capacity. I feel bound to express my opinion that these words of Mr. Balfour have placed our University question upon an entirely new footing.

Hitherto I have let pass no opportunity of pointing out that the only line upon which we could hope to fight the battle of Catholic University education in Ireland with real success, was that of steadily refusing to allow ourselves to be drawn into discussions about points of detail, rigorously confining ourselves to the assertion of our claim to absolute equality of treatment, in whatever form a settlement on the lines of equality could best be worked out.

In a public letter written little more than a year ago, and re-published in this volume,³ I protested against an

¹ Parliamentary Debates, Jan. 22nd. 1897, page 325.

² Mr. Balfour's success in the removal of another of our educational grievances by the application of the principle of equality, is noticed in an Appendix to this volume. See pages 515-519.

³ See page 370.

invitation to the public, which had just then been published in one of the Dublin newspapers, to enter upon a discussion as to the form which a settlement of the University question ought to take. Well-meant as this attempt to initiate a discussion may have been, I could not but regard it as, in effect, a mischievous move, and my protest against it, I am happy to say, was entirely successful.

On that occasion, I wrote :—

“Our claim is a simple one. Equality is at once its high-water mark and its low-water mark. When we shall be fortunate to find a responsible Ministry prepared to recognise, for the first time in our history, that in asking for equality on behalf of the Catholics of Ireland, we are asking for nothing but what we are entitled to ask for, and nothing but what they are prepared to concede, it will be time enough to enter into the consideration of details.”¹

In view of more than one passage in Mr. Balfour's recent speech, I feel bound to say that, in my opinion, that time has at length come.

The speech, no doubt, was studiously guarded in one respect,—a reserve which, obvious as it is, would seem, strangely enough, to have been altogether overlooked by some over-confident commentators who have taken it upon themselves to explain to the public the import of Mr. Balfour's words. For, satisfactorily outspoken as the speech is as a declaration of Ministerial policy, it does not,

¹ See pages 365-370.

from beginning to end, contain a vestige of any definite promise, or undertaking, that the policy enunciated in it is to be embodied in legislative form during the present session of Parliament, or, in fact, within any other defined limit of time. In its general drift, indeed, Mr. Balfour's speech seemed rather to exclude the idea of an immediate settlement of the question. But, on the other hand, inasmuch as it has to be viewed as a distinct declaration of the policy of the Ministry in reference to a question of prominent importance, the speech cannot but be regarded as indicating a practical intention of dealing with the matter without unnecessary delay.

Mr. Balfour mentioned especially one point, in reference to which he considered that some definite information should be in the hands of the Government before further progress could be made. This was as to the constitution of the Governing Body of the new University, with reference, in particular, to the claims that might be put forward as a matter of Catholic principle, in regard to the weight to be assigned to the ecclesiastical element in the formation of that body.

It is obvious that on a matter of Catholic principle such as this, the only competent authority in this country is our Irish Episcopal body. As an individual Bishop, I am not, of course, in a position, either in this or in any other matter, to speak for any one but myself. But I take no very serious responsibility

upon myself in saying that I assume, as a matter of course that the Irish Bishops,—when definitely made aware of what is really wanted,¹—will gladly give every help in their power towards the realisation of the statesmanlike policy enunciated in Mr. Balfour's speech, and that, to this end, they will be prepared to take whatever steps may be considered most advisable, with a view to placing in the hands of the Government, or of any member of it, the fullest information that may be sought for, and that it may be within their competence to give.

¹ Mr. Lecky, who spoke immediately before Mr. Balfour, was sufficiently definite as to two points upon which he wished for information. But Mr. Lecky did not, as of course he could not, in any way claim to speak on behalf of the Government in this matter, and it is quite possible that he has neither fully nor accurately defined the points upon which information is desired by the Government.

Mr. Morley, in fact, as we shall see a little further on, raised a very important point not touched upon by Mr. Lecky.

Mr. Lecky's statement was as follows:—

"He thought two points should be made clear before there was any legislation on the subject.

"One was, what proportion of lay influence there was to be on the governing body? He need scarcely say that with the disciplined action that characterised the hierarchy in Ireland, if the Bishops formed a majority, or even if they formed an exact half of the body, they might just as well have a monopoly.

"Another point hardly less important was the position of the professors. Of course, they would be chosen not merely on the ground of competence, but also to a great extent on the ground of creed. This was inevitable, and therefore he did not wish to object to it, but he trusted that having been chosen, something would be done to give them security of position, and not leave them, like the unfortunate National schoolmaster, liable to be dismissed at the instance of some ecclesiastical authority" (*Parliamentary Debates*, January 22nd, 1897, pages 318, 319).

It is to be presumed that, although Mr. Lecky's words may seem to some extent ambiguous on the point, he did not wish to imply that, in reference to religious matters, the same considerations which should be taken into account in the appointment of a professor in a Catholic University, should not also affect, with every reasonable security for his position, the question of his retention of office.

But, as I have said, it is not for Mr. Lecky or Mr. Morley, but for the Government or for some one authorised to speak for the Government, to say upon what points, and in what form, the information is desired, in the absence of which they are naturally unwilling to introduce into Parliament a Government measure upon so critical a subject.

My reference to the recent proceedings in the House of Commons would be altogether incomplete if I did not mention that, in addition to the naturally friendly speeches of Irish Nationalist Members, Protestant as well as Catholic,¹ two speeches, eminently noteworthy in substance and in tone, were made on that occasion,—one by Mr. Lecky, member for the University of Dublin, the other by Mr. John Morley.

Mr. Lecky spoke not merely for himself, but also on behalf of Trinity College. This circumstance alone would have sufficed to render the proceedings of the evening memorable in the history of our University question. Speaking before Mr. Balfour, Mr. Lecky apparently was not aware that Mr. Balfour had modified his former view, and was now of opinion that it was desirable to have the question of Catholic higher education in Ireland dealt with through the establishment of a University rather than of a College.² But whether it was to be done through a College or through a University, Mr. Lecky was in favour of having the question settled, and settled without unnecessary delay:—

“He hoped that in the course of the present Parliament the Government would see their way to gratify the desire of Irish

¹ In addition to Mr. Engledow, the mover of the amendment, the Irish Nationalist Members who spoke on the occasion were Mr. Swift MacNeill, Mr. Harrington, Mr. Knox, and Mr. T. M. Healy.

² See pages xvi., xvii.

Catholics to have either a University of their own, or else an endowed College connected with the Royal University . . .

"It was an incontestable fact that the number of Catholic students enjoying a University education was smaller than it should be . . . Trinity College regretted that Catholic students did not come to it more freely¹ . . . But it recognised clearly that the time had come for some modification in the University system of Ireland, and it only wished well to the Government in the action they might take."²

And at the close of his speech,—

"He would conclude, as he began, by saying he thought the time had come for some change in the University system of Ireland, and that as long as they in Trinity College were left unmolested in their own work, were allowed to keep their own unsectarian basis,³ and were not obliged to refuse anybody on account of religion, they would certainly not play the part of the dog in the manger, or be hostile to anything that might be set up for the benefit of the Catholics of Ireland."⁴

I have said that, in view of Mr. Balfour's responsible position in the Ministry, his recent speech must be regarded as placing our University question upon an entirely new footing, shifting the consideration of it from the ground of mere general principle to that of particulars and details. Mr. Lecky's speech, in view of his position as a representative of Trinity College and the University of Dublin, no less completely puts out of sight a feature of

¹ See pages 30-33 : 142-153 ; 153-164 ; and 401-406 ; also page 43, and the pages there referred to in footnote 1.

² Parliamentary Debates, 22nd January, 1897, pages 313, 314.

³ But see page 43, and the pages there referred to in footnote 1.

⁴ Parliamentary Debates, 22nd January, 1897, page 319.

the case with which, from the outset, it has been anything but pleasant to have had to deal.

Elsewhere in this volume there will be found some remarks of mine upon the growing reasonableness of spirit in Trinity College in reference to the Irish University question, so happily manifested on more than one occasion in recent years.¹ Especially of late, not a few distinguished men, members of Trinity College or prominently connected with it, have followed the example set to them many years ago by Professor Haughton,² and have honourably declared themselves in favour of the establishment of a system of University education in Ireland, by means of which every advantage that they themselves enjoy through Trinity College and the University of Dublin, should be placed within the reach of their Catholic fellow-countrymen, through a College and University, as acceptable in their constitution to the Catholics of Ireland as Trinity College and the University of Dublin are to our Protestant fellow-countrymen. I have duly recorded that gratifying fact.³ But, side by side with it, I have had to take note also of the significant fact that "no such declaration has ever yet been made by anyone competent to speak on behalf of Trinity College, and undertaking to speak on its behalf."⁴

¹ See pages 257-259.

³ See page 88, *footnote*.

² See pages 269-271.

⁴ *Ibid.*

Now, Mr. Lecky's speech has put upon me the pleasing duty of pointing out that this statement no longer holds good. I very gladly recognise in him an accredited exponent of the more equitable spirit that has now at length come to prevail in Trinity College in favour of the recognition of the right of the Catholics of Ireland to a University of their own. In the face of Mr. Lecky's declaration, words such as "monopoly," "ascendancy," and "exclusiveness," which in other circumstances I have freely used, can no longer be deemed admissible in any description of the attitude of Trinity College in reference to the long-claimed reform of the system of University education in Ireland.

One observation, however, of Mr. Lecky's would almost seem to show that even he is under some strange misapprehension about the nature of the Irish Catholic claim.

"He had [he said] an incurable prejudice against the secular education of laymen being altogether entrusted to ecclesiastics.

"He believed that if they educated young laymen more or less in the principles of a monastery, the result would be that they would turn out one class of mind, credulous, emasculated, stunted, and prejudiced, and another of a stronger class of mind, acidulated and exasperated, inclined to go all lengths in opposition to what they had been taught."¹

I shall not make the mistake of treating as matter for controversy an isolated passage from a speech which, in its

¹ Parliamentary Debates, January 22nd, 1897 page 317.

main drift, is so reasonable and conciliatory. I feel indeed very safe in assuming that if Mr. Lecky really regarded the concession of the Irish Catholic claim as tending in the most remote degree to the establishment of any such incongruous system as that against which he so properly protests, we should find him, not amongst the advocates, but amongst the most strenuous opponents, of that claim. Yet, as the point has been raised, it may not be out of place to remind him that it was Cardinal Newman, the first Rector of our Catholic University of Ireland, who said, in one of those lectures in which he traced out the ideal that seems now at length to have come within reach of being realised :—"Why do we educate except to prepare for the world? . . . If, then, a University is a direct preparation for this world, let it be what it professes. It is not a Convent, it is not a Seminary ; it is a place to fit men of the world for the world. We cannot possibly keep them from plunging into the world, with all its ways and principles and maxims ; but we can prepare them against what is inevitable ; and it is not the way to learn to swim in troubled waters, never to have gone into them."¹

Mr. Morley's speech, like Mr. Lecky's, was strongly

¹ *The Idea of a University* (London, 1893), page 232.

sympathetic. Apart from its cordial expression of agreement with Mr. Balfour's general view of the subject, and from his closing words—"I hope that we shall not go much longer without something being carried out in the direction on which we are both agreed,"¹—the speech, if I may say so, is interesting to me, chiefly from what Mr. Morley said as to the position of Theology in the contemplated new University. Referring to an incidental remark of Mr. Balfour's, he said:—

"The right hon. gentleman opposite rather minimized the denominational character of Trinity College,² but he cannot deny that it is one of the most important institutions in Ireland for the training of ministers of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and I hope that the right hon. gentleman will not exclude from the Catholic University the Theological Faculty."³

Quite naturally from his point of view, Mr. Morley guarded this remark by the proviso that the theological chairs of the new University should not be endowed out of public funds. Referring, moreover, to an incident of his Chief Secretaryship in Ireland, he informed the House that when the Home Rule Bill of 1893 was before Parliament, and the question had to be considered, how far it

¹ Parliamentary Debates, Jan. 22nd, 1897, p. 327.

² See, however, pages 196 and 197.

³ Parliamentary Debates, Jan. 22nd, 1897, p. 327.

could be left free to an Irish Legislative body to endow denominational institutions, he had taken an opportunity of consulting some ecclesiastics of high position in Ireland, and he understood them to assent to the proposal that no Divinity chair in a Catholic University or College should be endowed out of public funds.¹

Mr. Morley seemed to have some misgiving lest the opinions expressed to him on this point in 1893 might by this time have changed.² He need have none. The endowment of the teaching of religion is not what we Catholics have in view when we claim an endowment for a Catholic University, or for a Catholic college or school. This point is so fully dealt with in one of the speeches republished in this volume,³ that I need not further enter upon it here. On the merits of the case, there is no reason why chairs of Catholic Theology in an Irish University should be placed by the State upon a different footing from chairs of Protestant Episcopalian Theology, or of Presbyterian Theology, in any of the Universities of the United Kingdom. In this, as in everything else connected

¹ Parliamentary Debates, Jan. 22nd, 1897, p. 327.

² "I understood that they would assent—of course, through an Irish Parliament,—to the proposal that no Divinity chair in a Catholic University or College should be endowed out of public funds. Of course, those high ecclesiastical personages may have since seen occasion to change their views on the subject ['No, no,' from the Nationalist Members]. That I regard as an important admission."—Speech of the Right Hon. J. Morley, *Ibid.*

³ See pages 217, 218.

with the University question, equality with our fellow-subjects of other religious professions is all that we have ever claimed. Equality being secured to us, statesmen of all parties may rest fully satisfied that we shall never put ourselves in the indefensible position of claiming more.

✠ W. J. W.

ARCHBISHOP'S HOUSE,

DUBLIN, *March 13th*, 1897.

I.

UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES :

HISTORICAL OUTLINE OF THE IRISH UNIVERSITY
QUESTION.

UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES :

HISTORICAL OUTLINE OF THE IRISH UNIVERSITY QUESTION.

In one of the speeches from which some extracts are printed in this volume,¹ reference is made to a certain haziness of view, unfortunately somewhat prevalent in Ireland, as to the distinction of primary importance between a College and a University, —if indeed I should not rather have spoken of a haziness of view that results in this distinction being not unfrequently lost sight of. But the distinction, as it happens, is of special importance in the consideration of our University question. In the following pages, an attempt is made, in the first place, to clear away some of the confusion that prevails upon the subject. This is followed, and, in some degree, completed, by a statement, mainly historical, of the leading facts connected with the existing State provision for University Education in Ireland.

Universities and Colleges.	It is no great wonder that upon all this subject much confusion of thought should exist in Ireland. In anything that is to be seen around us, there is much to confuse us, and but little to guide us to a clear perception of the truth.
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¹ See page 67.

We have before us in Dublin, on the one hand, an ancient seat of learning, the University of Dublin, and, connected with that University, the College known as Trinity College. But Trinity College is so very closely connected with the University of Dublin,—being, in a sense, identified with it,—that the ordinary observer is likely rather to be bewildered than to have his difficulty solved if he seeks to make out from anything he can see there, in what the difference between a College and a University consists. If he looks a little further around, he will find, in the same city, under the name of a University, another institution, which, so far at all events as appearances go, has nothing in common either with Trinity College or with the University of Dublin. It is styled, “The Royal University of Ireland,” but, on inquiry, it turns out to be merely a place where all who choose may present themselves for examination in certain subjects, and where, in so far as they may be successful in passing the examination, they will receive certain prizes, or certificates of their success. The term “University College,” as used in relation to this institution, is a designation given to Colleges that have only this connection with University work, or with so-called University work, that they are devoted in a special manner to the preparation of students for the examinations of this examining body. The further insight into the facts of the case thus gained, can only tend to obscure whatever idea either of a University or of a University College may have been gathered from anything that the University of Dublin or Trinity College brings into view.

In endeavouring to clear up our ideas about Universities and Colleges, it is well to begin with the University.

And, if satisfactory progress is to be made, it will be necessary, for the present, simply to dismiss from our minds the institution known as the Royal University, and everything connected with it.

A University is distinguished by its functions from all other institutions that exist for purposes connected with learning.

The chief functions of a University may with sufficient accuracy be set down as three. Of these, teaching, of a very special kind, is one. Another, which some would place first of all, is the encouragement of higher studies. A third function—to which an altogether exaggerated importance has come to be attached in modern times—is the holding of examinations with a view chiefly to the conferring of “degrees.”

As to the special kind of teaching which it is a chief function of a University to impart, a volume could profitably be filled with illustrative passages from Cardinal Newman’s well-known Discourses on University Teaching. I make no apology for inserting the following :—

“A University should teach universal knowledge.”	“ Whatever was the original reason of the adoption of the term University, which is unknown, I am only putting on it its popular, its recognised sense, when I say that a University should teach universal knowledge. . . . Johnson, in his Dictionary, defines it to be ‘a school where all arts and faculties are taught ;’ and Mosheim, writing as a historian, says that, before the rise of the University of Paris,—for instance, at Padua, or Salamanca, or Cologne,—‘the whole circle of sciences then known was not taught,’ but that the
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school of Paris, 'which exceeded all others in various respects, as well as in the number of teachers and students, was the first to embrace all the arts and sciences, and therefore first became a University.'"¹

Then, further on, this fundamental idea is developed and applied. The work of a University, as "a seat of universal learning," lies in a sphere far higher than that which can be reached through the mere study, no matter how profound, of the most exhaustive treatises, or through anything that can be gained from the mere formal teaching, no matter how excellent, of the most learned professors :—

The advantage of a seat of universal learning.	" Though [the students of a University] cannot pursue every subject which is open to them, they will be the gainers by living among and under those who represent the whole circle. This I conceive to be the advantage of a seat of universal learning, considered as a place of education.
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"An assemblage of learned men, zealous for their own sciences, and rivals of each other, are brought, by familiar intercourse and for the sake of intellectual peace, to adjust together the claims and relations of their respective subjects of investigation. They learn to respect, to consult, to aid, each other. Thus is created a pure and clear atmosphere of thought, which the student also breathes, though in his own case he only pursues a few sciences out of the multitude.

"He profits by an intellectual tradition, which is independent of particular teachers, which guides him in his choice of subjects, and duly interprets for him those

¹ *The Idea of a University* (London, 1893), page 20.

A "Liberal"
Education.

which he chooses. He apprehends the great outlines of knowledge, the principles on which it rests, the scale of its parts, its lights and its shades, its great points and its little, as he otherwise cannot apprehend them. Hence it is that his education is called 'Liberal.' A habit of mind is formed which lasts through life, of which the attributes are, freedom, equitableness, calmness, moderation, and wisdom ; or what in a former Discourse I have ventured to call a philosophical habit. This then I would assign as the special fruit of the education furnished at a University, as contrasted with other places of teaching, or modes of teaching."¹

Still further on, through a further development of the the same general idea, a grave popular misconception is corrected :—

A mistaken view
of the work of a
University.

" I suppose the *prima facie* view which the public at large would take of a University, considering it as a place of Education, is nothing more or less than a place for acquiring a great deal of knowledge on a great many subjects. Memory is one of the first developed of the mental faculties ; a boy's business when he goes to school is to learn, that is, to store up things in his memory. . . . The same notion possesses the public mind when it passes on from the thought of a school to that of a University : and with the best of reasons so far as this, that there is no true culture without acquirements, and that philosophy presupposes knowledge. . .

" The communication of knowledge certainly is either a condition or the means of that sense of enlargement or

¹ *The Idea of a University* (London, 1893), pages 101, 102.

enlightenment, of which at this day we hear so much in certain quarters : this cannot be denied ; but next, it is equally plain that such communication is not the whole of the process.

“ The enlargement consists, not merely in the passive reception into the mind of a number of ideas hitherto unknown to it, but in the mind’s energetic and simultaneous action upon and towards and among those new ideas . . . We feel our minds to be growing and expanding *then*, when we not only learn, but refer what we learn to what we know already . . .

“ There are men who embrace in their
 “ Well-read men : ” minds a vast multitude of ideas, but
 “ men of information.” with little sensibility about their real relations towards each other. These may be antiquarians, annalists, naturalists ; they may be learned in the law ; they may be versed in statistics ; they are most useful in their own place ; I should shrink from speaking disrespectfully of them ; still, there is nothing in such attainments to guarantee the absence of narrowness of mind. If they are nothing but well-read men, or men of information, they have not what specially deserves the name of culture of mind, or fulfils the type of Liberal Education.

“ The case is the same still more strikingly where the persons in question are beyond dispute men of inferior powers and deficient education. . . Seafaring men, for example, range from one end of the earth to the other ; but the multiplicity of external objects, which they have encountered, forms no symmetrical and consistent picture upon their imagination ; they see the tapestry of human life as it were on the wrong side, and it tells no story.

Facts seen in a
 passive unfruitful
 way.

They sleep, and they rise up, and they find themselves, now in Europe, now in Asia ; they see visions of great cities and wild regions ; they are in the marts of commerce, or amid the islands of the South ; they gaze on Pompey's Pillar, or on the Andes ; and nothing which meets them carries them forward or backward, to any idea beyond itself. Nothing has a drift or relation ; nothing has a history or a promise. Everything stands by itself, and comes and goes in its turn, like the shifting scenes of a show, which leave the spectator where he was. . . . Such is mere acquisition." ¹

And then Cardinal Newman goes on to set out the the opposite of all this as the fruit of a Liberal Education which it is the special office of a University to impart :—

“ That only is true enlargement of mind
True enlarge- which is the power of viewing many
ment of mind. things at once as one whole, of referring
them severally to their true place in the universal
system, of understanding their respective values, and
determining their mutual dependence. . . .

“ And now, if I may take for granted that the true and adequate end of intellectual training and of a University is not Learning or Acquirement, but rather, is Thought or Reason exercised upon Knowledge, or what may be called Philosophy, I shall be in a position to explain the various mistakes which at the present day beset the subject of University Education.

“ I say then, if we would improve the intellect, . . . we must ascend ; we cannot gain real knowledge on a level ; we must generalize, we must reduce to

¹ *The Idea of a University* (London, 1893), pages 127, 129, 133, 136.

method, we must have a grasp of principles, and group and shape our acquisitions by means of them. It matters not whether our field of operation be wide or limited ; in every case, to command it, is to mount above it. Who has not felt the irritation of mind and impatience created by a deep, rich country, visited for the first time, with winding lanes and high hedges, and green steepes, and tangled woods, and everything smiling indeed, but in a maze ? The same feeling comes upon us in a strange city, when we have no map of its streets. Hence you hear of practised travellers when they first come into a place, mounting some high hill or church tower, by way of reconnoitring its neighbourhood. In like manner, you must be above your knowledge, not under it, or it will oppress you ; and the more you have of it, the greater will be the load.”¹

Further on we meet with that famous passage which has so often been quoted :—

“ I protest to you, gentlemen, that if I had to choose between a so-called University, which dispensed with residence and tutorial superintendence, and gave its degrees to any person who passed an examination
A sharp contrast. in a wide range of subjects, and a University which had no professors or examinations at all, but merely brought a number of young men together for three or four years, and then sent them away, as the University of Oxford is said to have done some sixty years hence ; if I were asked which of these two methods was the better discipline of the intellect,—mind, I do not say which is *morally* the better, for it is plain that compulsory study must be a good, and

¹ *The Idea of a University* (London, 1893), pages 136, 137, 139, 140.

idleness an intolerable mischief,—but if I must determine which of the two courses was the more successful in training, moulding, enlarging the mind, which sent out men the more fitted for their secular duties, which produced better public men, men of the world, men whose names would descend to posterity, I have no hesitation in giving the preference to that University which did nothing, over that which exacted of its members an acquaintance with every science under the sun. . . .

“When a multitude of young men, keen, open-hearted, sympathetic, and observant, as young men are, come together and freely mix with each other, they are sure to learn one from another, even if there be no one to teach them; . . . they gain for themselves new ideas and views, fresh matter of thought, and distinct principles of judging and acting, day by day . . . Let it be clearly understood, I repeat it, that I am not taking into account moral or religious considerations; I am but saying that that youthful community will constitute a whole, it will embody a specific idea, it will furnish principles of thought and action. It will give birth to a living teaching, which in course of time will take the shape of a self-perpetuating tradition, or a *genius loci*, as it is sometimes called; which haunts the home where it has been born, and which imbues and forms, more or less, and one by one, every individual who is successively brought under its shadow. . . .

Knowledge not a mere passive reception of scraps and details.	“Here then is a real teaching, whatever be its standard and principles, true or false; and it at least tends towards culti- vation of intellect; it at least recognises that knowledge is something more than a sort of passive reception of scraps and details; it is a something, and it does a something, which never will issue from the most strenuous
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efforts of a set of teachers, with no mutual sympathies and no intercommunion, of a set of examiners with no opinions which they dare profess, and with no common principles, who are teaching or questioning a set of youths who do not know them, and do not know each other, on a large number of subjects, different in kind, and connected by no wide philosophy, three times a week, or three times a year, or once in three years, in chill lecture-rooms or on a pompous anniversary.”¹

There is one other passage that I must not omit to quote. Knowledge, rightly understood, and as a University has to teach it, is, as Cardinal Newman strongly insists, “its own end.” But then, as he goes on to say :—

The practical end
of a University
Education. “That training of the intellect which
is best for the individual himself, best
enables him to discharge his duties to
society. . . . If then a practical end must be assigned
to a University course, I say it is that of training good
members of society. . . .

“It neither confines its views to particular professions on the one hand ; nor creates heroes or inspires genius on the other. Works indeed of genius fall under no art ; heroic minds come under no rule ; a University is not the birth-place of poets or of immortal authors, of founders of schools, leaders of colonies, or conquerors of nations. It does not promise a generation of Aristotles or Newtons, of Napoleons or Wellingtons, of Raphaels or Shakespeares, though such miracles of nature it has before now contained within its precincts. Nor is it content, on the other hand, with forming the critic or the experimentalist, the

¹ *The Idea of a University* (London 1893), pages 145-148.

economist or the engineer, though such too it includes within its scope.

“But a University training is the great ordinary means to a great but ordinary end; it aims at raising the intellectual tone of society, at cultivating the public mind, at purifying the national taste, at supplying true principles to popular enthusiasm and fixed aims to popular aspiration, at giving enlargement and sobriety to the ideas of the age, at facilitating the exercise of political power, and refining the intercourse of private life.

The fruits of a
Liberal
Education.

“It is the education which gives a man a clear conscious view of his own opinions and judgments, a truth in developing them, an eloquence in expressing them, and a force in urging them. It teaches him to see things as they are, to go right to the point, to disentangle a skein of thought, to detect what is sophistical, and to discard what is irrelevant. It prepares him to fill any post with credit, and to master any subject with facility. It shows him how to accommodate himself to others, how to throw himself into their state of mind, how to bring before them his own, how to influence them, how to come to an understanding with them, how to bear with them. He is at home in any society, he has common ground with every class; he knows when to speak, and when to be silent; he is able to converse, he is able to listen; he can ask a question pertinently, and gain a lesson seasonably, when he has nothing to impart himself. . . .

“He has the repose of a mind which lives in itself, while it lives in the world, and which has resources for its happiness at home when it cannot go abroad. He has a gift which serves him in public, and supports him in retirement,

without which good fortune is but vulgar, and with which failure and disappointment have a charm.

“The art which tends to make a man all this, is, in the object which it pursues, as useful as the art of wealth or the art of health, though it is less susceptible of method, and less tangible, less certain, less complete in its result.”¹

So far, for the idea of a University, and for the fruits which the teaching of a University ought to bear, but which are withheld from a nation in so far as its people are shut out from the advantages of a University Education.

But there is another point. All the advantages so beautifully described by Cardinal Newman, might be found to the fullest extent in a seat of learning in these countries; that seat of learning might also discharge the other University functions of holding examinations and conferring degrees, and of promoting and encouraging the highest studies;² and yet it might not

A University in
the legal sense.

be held entitled to University rank. With us, it cannot be a University in the legal sense, unless it is recognised by the State as a University, and is empowered by a Charter from the Crown to confer upon its students the mark of distinction known as a University degree. With the exception possibly of the United States, the same seems to be true of all other countries now. A seat of learning, not recognised as a University, by the State, or by the head of the State, is not a University in the legal sense.

Failing the requisite authoritative recognition of it as a

¹ *The Idea of a University* (London, 1893), pages 177, 178.

² See *ante*, page 5.

University, a seat of learning may be a College, or a group of Colleges, but it can be nothing more.

A Catholic
University.

Moreover, a University cannot be considered, in any sense of the word, a Catholic University, unless it can be recognised by Catholics as in accord, in all essential points, with Catholic principles.

Next comes the consideration of a
Colleges. College, more especially of a College connected with a University. The mediæval

conception of a College in a University has been admirably elucidated by Professor Freeman. Originally, the Colleges of a University city were little more than houses of residence, provided, as was usually the case, by the munificence of some patrons of learning, for the accommodation and maintenance of students who came from their homes to pursue their studies in the great centre of University life. Colleges, in this sense of the word, are still maintained in Rome and elsewhere. But a College in connection with a University may be something more, and in modern times, it usually is something more. It may have its staff of professors, and be provided with all the appliances requisite for the teaching of the students who reside in it, and of any others who may be admitted to share with them in the teaching it provides.

As regards this work of teaching, a College may, of course, undertake the teaching only of some special branches of learning, or only even of some one branch. What it teaches may be purely theological, or medical, or legal, in its range. But not so a University. "The very name of a University is inconsistent with restrictions of any kind."¹

¹ Newman. *The Idea of a University*. (London, 1893), page 20. See *ante*, pages 5, 6.

The discharge of its office of teaching—
A University teaching through its Colleges. as regards that portion of its teaching which consists of formal instruction given by tutors and professors—may be entrusted by a University, in greater or less degree, to its Colleges, or to some one College. In Oxford and Cambridge, for instance, as we shall see in detail, a little farther on,² the work of teaching, in so far as it is done in schools and lecture-halls, is now, to a large extent, handed over to the various Colleges. The same, in substance, is true of the University of Dublin, the work of teaching being in this case done by Trinity College.

Where there is in a University—as there
Universities such as that of Oxford. is in Oxford or Cambridge—a number of Colleges, the University will naturally have a local habitation distinct from that of any of its Colleges. In such cases, the University exists as a visibly distinct institution. It will naturally also have a distinct legal corporate existence, with a governing body of its own ; upon this body, the Colleges, or some of them, will usually be represented.

Where there is a University, as there is
Universities such as that of Dublin. in that of Dublin,³ but one College—that College being entrusted with the work of teaching, practically in its entirety—the University may not have a local habitation distinct from that of the College. If it has not, it is distinct from the College only in so far as the conferring of degrees, and the holding of examinations for degrees and for the

¹ See pages 6, 7, and 10-15.

² See pages 20, 21.

³ See pages 19-25.

awarding of some special higher prizes, are to be regarded as University, not Collegiate, functions. For the exercise of these and of similar special functions, a University such as that of Dublin—quite as much as a University such as that of Oxford—has a legal corporate existence of its own. The body thus constituting the University will naturally comprise the leading members of the College, but it may also contain persons who are not connected with the College at all.

University
Colleges.

From all that has been said, it is plain that a College cannot be, in any proper sense of the word, a University College, unless it fulfils one of two conditions. It will have the strongest of all claims to be regarded as a University College if—whether from its being the sole College of a University or otherwise—it can offer to its students all those advantages of which Cardinal Newman so eloquently discourses. In this case, it falls short of being a University only in the sense that it lacks that recognition from the State which is requisite to constitute it a University in the legal sense. If it cannot make good its claim to the title of a University College on this first ground, that title may still with propriety be given to it, if it does its collegiate work as an integral part of a University organization, and is so situated,—either in some University centre, or within reach of such a centre,—as to bring its students within the range of all the beneficent influences of University life.

It now becomes necessary to revert to a topic which, after a brief reference,¹ has been allowed to remain in the background.

¹ See pages 4, 5.

So-called
Universities.

Within comparatively recent times, a strangely misapplied use of the term University has come into vogue. One of the functions of a University properly so called—a function, however, in every way subordinate to that of teaching,—is the holding of examinations.¹ On the score of this single point of resemblance, the name “University” has come to be given to certain mere examining bodies that have nothing else in common with a University in the proper sense of the term, and are constituted for the purpose of conferring upon students who are not students of any University, a distinction which, with consistent inappropriateness, is designated a “University degree.”

In Ireland, the Queen’s “University,” now happily extinct, and, in England, the “University” of London, seem to have been the first bodies so constituted. In Ireland, the institution known as “The Royal University of Ireland” is the latest addition to the list.²

The history of the
Irish University
question.

Coming now to the history of the Irish University question, from the establishment of Trinity College, Dublin, down to the present day, we may conveniently regard it as comprising four distinct periods.

The first was a period of absolute exclusiveness; the second, a period of partial toleration; the third, a period of attempted reform, but of reform attempted in an essentially wrong direction. The fourth period still runs its course. Within this period, more than

¹ See page 5.

² See Cardinal Newman’s reference to such bodies, *ante*, pages 10-12.

one project for the removal of the long-standing difficulty has been brought forward by Ministers of the Crown—projects wholly inadequate indeed for the removal of the difficulty, but not without promise for the future, inasmuch as they at all events tended in the direction in which alone an effective scheme for its removal ever can be found. The course then of our University question, so far, has been one of progressive, though but slow, advance.

The University of
Dublin;
Trinity College. For fully two centuries and a half, down to a comparatively recent time, there was but one University in Ireland, the University of Dublin. That University had, as it still has, but one College, Trinity College.

Trinity College
founded in 1592: Of the College and the University, the College was the older foundation. It was *Mater Universitatis*, founded in 1592, by a Charter of Incorporation from Queen Elizabeth. Throughout the Charter, the new institution is designated a College, not a University; but the College is twice spoken of as *Mater Universitatis*.¹ Moreover, in a letter to the Lord Deputy and the Irish Council, in which she announced her intention of issuing the Charter, Elizabeth showed that she had the distinction between a College and a University very clearly in view. For she laid it down that the new College was to be established "in

¹ "Unum Collegium matrem Universitatis juxta civitatem Dubliniensem . . . erigere."—*Charta Eliz.* (34 Eliz.)

"Quod de caetero sit, et erit, unum Collegium mater Universitatis . . . juxta Dublin."

The phrase is retained in the recitals in the subsequent Charter of Charles I., A.D. 1637:—

"Cum domina Elizabeth . . . ordinaverit . . . quod deinceps esset unum Collegium mater Universitatis."—*Charta Caroli I* (13 Car. I.)

such manner, and with such good order and statutes, as some other of *our Colleges* here in England *in our Universities* are," adding, "whereof we will that you, our Chancellor, and you, the Bishop of Meath,"—Adam Loftus, then Protestant Archbishop of Dublin and Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and Thomas Jones, then Protestant Bishop of Meath,—“have regard to, according to the good order of *the College* where you have been brought up.”¹ The reference was to Christ’s College, in the University of Cambridge, of which College, Loftus and Jones had been students.

The Colleges in
the English
Universities.

The distinction indeed is one that could not possibly be overlooked by anyone familiar, as we know that Elizabeth was, with the Universities and Colleges of Oxford or Cambridge.

Oxford :
its Colleges.

In Oxford, for instance, there was, on the one hand, as there still is, a number of distinct Colleges, some in one street or quarter of the City, some in another, each having its own President or Head, its own Fellows, its own Students, its own Collegiate property, its own Collegiate organisation, its own Collegiate buildings—Chapel, Library, Dining Hall, Fellows’ quarters and Students’ quarters—all complete within its own walls. Outside of all this, in no way identified with any of the Colleges, there was, as there still is, the University²—the University being an incorporated body, composed mainly of the Heads of Colleges, and of graduates, empowered to confer degrees

¹ See the Queen’s Letter, in the *History of the University of Dublin*, by Rev. Dr. Stubbs (Dublin, 1889), pages 354-356.

² See page 16.

upon the students of the various Colleges, and thus placed in a position to regulate, by its University Statutes, the courses of study to be followed by those students.

The University also, as distinct from the The University. Colleges, has its own buildings, for its own special purposes—the “Theatre” for its solemn assemblies, two great University Libraries, two Observatories, several Museums, and the building known as “The New Schools,” where most of the University Examinations are held, and certain lectures are delivered by University professors. So far, however, as the great mass of the students are concerned, these Professors have no real share in the ordinary work of teaching.¹ This work is done by the College lecturers, who really are the Oxford Professors, though they are not so styled; they are College, not University, officials; and, as such, they are paid by their respective Colleges, not by the University.

Thus, whilst the University contributes directly, in a certain degree, to the advancement of learning in some of its higher ranges, its main work is the regulation of the students’ general courses of studies, the holding of examinations, and the conferring of degrees.

As for the Fellowships, Scholarships, Exhibitions, and Prizes, these are of two distinct classes. Some are strictly Collegiate, attached to one or another of the numerous Colleges. Others are open to all Students, irrespective of what College a student may belong to: these are, strictly speaking, University, as distinct from Collegiate, honours and rewards.

¹ See pages 15, 16.

Trinity College:
Queen Elizabeth's
project.

In the days of Queen Elizabeth, whether in Oxford or in Cambridge, the distinction between the Colleges and the University, though subsequently modified in numerous points of detail, was no less obvious, even to the most superficial observer, than it is to-day. Her establishment, then, of the new seat of learning in Dublin, not as a University, but as a "*Collegium, Mater Universitatis*," and her reference, not to either of the English Universities, but to a College in one of them—Christ's College, Cambridge—as the model to be looked to¹ by those charged with the organization of the new College in Dublin, give ample evidence that it was by no mere oversight that Trinity College is described in the Elizabethan Charter as a College only. It is plain that the foundation of the College was intended by the Queen as only the first step towards the creation of a University, which should be constituted in due time, and constituted, as far as might be, on the lines of the English Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

Trinity College
empowered to
confer degrees.

As a matter of necessity for the time, there being in Dublin but the one College, and no University distinct from it, Trinity College, by an anomalous² arrangement, was invested by Elizabeth with the power of conferring degrees upon its students. Thus there originated a confusing arrangement, one consequence of which has been that in Ireland the distinction that should always be recognized to exist between a University and a College,—however great and well-endowed a College, as such, may be,—is far from being as clearly apprehended as would be desirable in the interests of University Education.

¹ See pages 19, 20.

² See pages 16, 17.

From the beginning, as is remarked
The establishment of other Colleges contemplated. in the opening section of the volume published by Trinity College on the occasion of its Tercentenary celebration in 1892, "the distinction between College and University . . . has practically had no influence in the history of Trinity College."¹ But, as the writer of that portion of the Tercentenary volume judiciously observes, the distinction is one that should become of practical importance "if a new College were founded under the University."² We shall see as we proceed that the idea of the establishment of a second College in the University of Dublin has never been altogether lost sight of.

Origin of the University of Dublin. It may now be asked, When did the University of Dublin, as distinct, at all events in conception, from Trinity College, come into existence? Curiously, the point is involved in considerable obscurity.

The Charter of James the First. The earliest extant reference to the University,³ as distinct from the College, is to be found in the Charter⁴ of James I., dated May 12th, 1613. This Charter, which conferred the right of Parliamentary representation, speaks distinctly of the University as an existing institution,

¹ *The Book of Trinity College, Dublin* (Belfast, 1892), page 17.

² *Ibid.*

³ Dr. Stubbs, indeed, in his learned *History of the University of Dublin* (page 96), has the following:—

"By the Charter of Elizabeth, full power was given to the Provost and Fellows of the College to enact such regulations as were required for the government of the University and the College; these should receive the approval of the Chancellor of the University."

But as to this, see *ante*, page 20.

⁴ Charta II, Jac. I.

and, in the most express way, distinguishes it from Trinity College.

The Charter begins by a recital of the Charter of Elizabeth, establishing Trinity College as "Collegium, Matrem Universitatis." It furthermore recites that "by various Letters Patent or Grants," of Queen Elizabeth and of James the First himself, the College, thus originally founded, had been endowed with "divers ample and munificent privileges." The recital contains the definite words, "since the aforesaid College is, and is deemed to be, a University, and possesses, enjoys, and makes use of, all and singular the liberties, privileges, and immunities appertaining to a University."¹ And then the King proceeds to confer upon "the aforesaid College and University," the right of sending two representatives to Parliament.

Why Parliamentary representation was granted.

This Charter of James the First brings out with great prominence the idea that the organization of the Irish University had still to be completed by the establishment of one or more other Colleges, in addition to Trinity College. The words are singularly definite, and a special significance is attached to them by the context in which they occur. One of the grounds stated in the Charter, for the granting of this privilege of Parliamentary representation, is that measures may from time to time be brought forward in Parliament affecting the property and possessions, not only of Trinity College and of the University, but of other Colleges in the University—

¹ In his collection of the College Charters and Statutes, brought out in 1844, Mr. Hercules MacDonnell mentions that "it has been suggested by some that it is by virtue of this Charter . . . that the College assumes the character of an University." Mr. MacDonnell, however, points out that the recital distinctly treats the University as already existing.

“aliorum Collegiorum, sive aularum, in dicta Universitate in posterum erigendarum et stabiliendarum.”¹

Within Trinity College itself, from the beginning, the anomalous confusion of the functions of a College and of a University in the same institution was felt to be not unattended with inconvenience, and one of the earliest Provosts, Sir William Temple, who was the fourth Provost, and held office from 1610 to 1627, was deputed by the College, in 1616, to proceed to London for the purpose of obtaining two new Charters, one for the College, another for the University.²

Distinct Statutes for the College and the University. This project was unsuccessful, but distinct sets of Statutes for the College and the University were drawn up in Temple's time. Lucid abstracts of these are given by Dr. Stubbs in his *History of the University of Dublin*.³ The College Statutes regulate the manner in which the subjects of each year's study were to be dealt with, the number of classes to be attended by the students of each year, and so forth. The University Statutes prescribe the qualifications for the various degrees, and the manner in which the degree examinations were to be held.

The Act of Settlement : “King's College.” In the “Act of Settlement,” passed, after the Restoration, in 1660, we find a further and most distinct reference to the establishment of an additional College in the University of

¹ Charta II, Jac. I.

² Stubbs, *History of the University of Dublin*, pages 29 34, and 36.

³ *Ibid.*, pages 43-48.

Dublin. The words of this important Statute are worth quoting :—

“ Be it enacted . . . that the Lord Lieutenant . . . of Ireland, . . . by and with the consent of the Privy Council, shall have full power and authority to erect another College, to be of the University of Dublin, to be called by the name of the King’s College, and, out of the lands, tenements, and hereditaments vested by this Act in his Majesty, . . . to endow the said College so, as aforesaid, to be erected.”

In the Catholic Relief Act of 1793 (33 Geo. III., cap. 21), the same idea crops up. This Act makes it lawful for Catholics “to hold or take degrees or any professorship in, or be masters or fellows of, any College to be hereafter founded in this Kingdom.” Then this is made subject to the proviso “that such College shall be a member of the University of Dublin.”¹

“The University of Dublin” would seem to have been the designation of the University, from the very first occasion on which we find the University distinguished from Trinity College. It is so styled in the University Statutes drawn up in Sir William Temple’s time ; and the letter of Joseph Meade, of Christ’s College, Cambridge, resigning—or rather declining to accept—the office of Provost, to which he was elected on the death of Temple, is addressed to “the Fellows of Trinity College in the University of Dublin.”²

¹ As to Trinity College itself, the provisions of this Act that enable a Catholic to hold any office or place of trust in, and to be a member of, any lay body-corporate, expressly except “the College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, of Queen Elizabeth, near Dublin.”

² See Stubbs’ *History of the University of Dublin*, page 391.

But the usage in this respect has not
"The University
of Trinity College." been without some variation. In a disciplinary Proclamation issued by Wentworth, as Viceroy, in 1638, we find the curious phrase, "the University and College, . . . called Trinity College." In a Royal Letter of Charles the Second, dated the 9th of May, 1674, an almost identical phrase is used: "our University and College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity." And in the Act of Union (40 Geo. III., cap. 38), the University constituency is designated "The University of Trinity College."

There can, however, be no doubt that the true official title of the University is "The University of Dublin."

The year 1793 may be regarded as
Catholic Students
admitted to Trinity
College. the commencement of a second period in the history of the Irish University question.¹ A policy of toleration, toleration, however, confined within the narrowest bounds, was now substituted for the policy of absolute exclusiveness.

Previous to 1793, Catholics were not indeed excluded by law from entering the College as students, but they were excluded from it by the fact that if they entered it, they would, in common with its other students, become subject, under the College Statutes, to duties which, as Catholics, they could not conscientiously discharge.² Over and above all this, special religious tests, in the form of oaths inconsistent with Catholic doctrine, were imposed upon the Provost, Fellows, and Scholars, and upon all who were admitted to degrees.

¹ See page 18.

² See the "Opinion" of the legal Assessor, at the College Visitation in Mr. Denis Caulfeild Heron's case, in December, 1845.

The Act of 1793, followed up by a Royal Letter of the following year, enabled Catholics to enter Trinity College as students, and to take out degrees. But it made no change as regards the religious tests by which Catholics were excluded from all the offices of trust and emolument in the College.

Protestant tests
maintained.

Position of
Irish Catholics
in 1793.

Catholics having thus been made eligible for the degrees of the University of Dublin,—the only College, however, of that University being Trinity College, a College essentially Protestant in its constitution,—matters were allowed to rest, as if the Catholics of Ireland had no further claim in the matter of University education in their own country. If the second College, contemplated in the Act of Settlement,¹ had been established, it might have been so constructed as to make it really available for Catholics ; and, under the provisions of the Relief Act² of 1793, Catholics would have been eligible as Professors, Masters, or Fellows, in it. But nothing of the kind seems to have been thought of. The Catholics of those days dared not venture to suggest, very probably indeed they never even conceived, that they had a claim to be put upon a footing in any way approaching that of equality with their Protestant fellow-subjects.

Equality not
dreamt of.

An
abortive effort.

So matters continued for the next half-century. In 1834, an abortive attempt was made in Parliament to open up the Scholarships and Professorships of Trinity College to Catholics “and other Dissenters.” A Bill for this purpose

¹ See pages 25, 26.

² See page 26.

was brought in by Sheil, but it was vigorously opposed by the representatives of Trinity College, and it was not even read a first time.¹

In 1843, the condition of Irish Catholics in relation to University education was brought prominently under notice through an interesting incident. In that year, a Catholic student of Trinity College, Mr. Denis Caulfeild Heron, afterwards well known as a prominent member of the Irish Bar, and as a member of Parliament, determined to raise the question whether the reform² effected in 1793 and 1794 had not opened the College Scholarships to Catholics. The Scholarship oath undoubtedly was less explicit in its terms than that imposed in the case of the Provost and of the Fellows.

Sixteen Scholarships being vacant, Mr. Heron presented himself at the examination. He came out fifth in order of merit. Notice was then taken of the fact that he did not, on either of the two Sundays subsequent to the examination, receive the Communion at the usual Protestant service in the College Chapel. When formally questioned as to why he had not done so, he gave as a reason that he was a Catholic, and that he had not presented himself for a Scholarship with the intention of conforming to the Church of England. He was then rejected, solely, as was admitted, on the religious ground, and the student who was seventeenth on the list was appointed to the Scholarship that had thus remained vacant.

On an appeal to the Visitors of the College, the legal

¹ See Mr. Barry O'Brien's *Fifty Years of Concessions to Ireland*, vol. i., page 335.

² See pages 27, 28.

points involved were argued at considerable length. The law was found to be on the side of the College authorities, and Mr. Heron's claim to the Scholarship was rejected. But it was impossible that matters could any longer be allowed to remain without something being done, and the Irish University question had to be faced by the Ministry of the day, as urgently claiming attention.

We now reach the opening of the third period in the history of our University question. Within this period, which was a period of reform,¹ two important steps were taken with the view of bringing within the reach of Catholics, if not all the advantages of which they had previously been deprived, at least some of those advantages, including that of being eligible to Collegiate positions of trust and emolument, similar to those from which they had until then been excluded.

Two mistaken
projects of
reform.

One of those steps was taken by Parliament, on the motion of the Government of the day, Sir Robert Peel being then Prime Minister. The other was taken by the authorities of Trinity College. Both steps were well calculated to meet the requirements of Protestant Dissenters, who, with the Catholics, had lain for centuries under the ban of exclusiveness. But, unfortunately, both steps lay in a direction widely different from that in which alone the means of removing the Catholic grievance were to be found. For, neither of these projects of reform took account of the fact that a College constructed upon what is known as the "mixed" system, —whether Protestantism, in any of its forms, might

¹ See page 18

happen to be enthroned in such a College in a position of dominating influence, or not,—is, on Catholic principles, unsuitable as a place of education for Catholic students, from the danger, inherent in the system which every such College embodies, of leading to indifference in the matter of Catholic truth.¹

The Government project came first. Sir Robert Peel strangely conceived the idea that the problem awaiting solution could be disposed of, though Trinity College and the University of Dublin were to be left as they stood,

A fantastic
scheme.

essentially Protestant institutions, without the establishment of any new College or University, Catholic in the sense in which

they were Protestant. His costly, fantastic, scheme, involving the establishment of three provincial “non-sectarian” Colleges, the three Queen’s Colleges of Belfast, Cork, and Galway,—“non-sectarian” in the sense that no

The Queen’s
Colleges.

religious topic of any kind was to be referred to in their teaching,—received the assent of Parliament. A sum of £100,000

was at once placed at the disposal of the Government to provide the necessary buildings, and an annual grant of £7,000 for each College, making £21,000 a year, was placed on the Consolidated Fund. The Act establishing the Queen’s Colleges received the Royal Assent on the 31st of July, 1845.

First defect
in the scheme of
1845:
obvious inequality.

As regards this new scheme, two things were made plain from the outset. In the first place, the scheme did not even profess to establish equality, or anything

¹ See pages 153-164.

resembling equality, in the matter of University education, between the members of the different religious communions in Ireland. The new Colleges were not to be established in the special interest, or for the special benefit, of any religious body. They were simply to be thrown open for the admission of all who chose to enter them and who could conscientiously do so. No religious instruction could be given in them. The secular instruction which they provided should be given apart from religious teaching of every kind. But on the other hand, in Trinity College, and in the University of Dublin, the Protestantism of the Established Church was to reign supreme. The religious services of that Church were still to be maintained in the College Chapel. The Protestant religion, according to the formularies of that Church, was still to be taught, not only in the College Divinity School, but throughout all catechetical instructions. And, with hardly an exception, all the emoluments and all the honours of the place were still exclusively reserved for members of the Established Church.

The second defect:
a far more serious
difficulty.

But, secondly, there was the far more serious drawback, that the system of education embodied in the new Colleges was utterly at variance with Catholic principle. This point, already touched upon,¹ is so fully developed in one of the speeches reprinted in this volume,² that it is sufficient merely to mention it here.

"Dangerous
to faith
and morals."

This second and fundamental difficulty at once assumed a most serious practical form. The system of the new Colleges was promptly condemned by the Irish Bishops, on religious

¹See pages 30, 31.

²See pages 153-164.

grounds;¹ and the condemnation was ratified and emphasized by the decisive judgment of the Holy See.²

The Synod of
Thurles. The condemnation was formally promulgated by the Bishops of Ireland in their Pastoral Address to the Clergy and Laity of Ireland, from the Synod of Thurles,³ in September, 1850.

The cost of the
Queen's Colleges. From the opening of the three Queen's Colleges in 1849 to the present day, there has been expended upon those institutions about £30,000 of public money every year.⁴ Of this amount, £1,400 a year is set apart in each College for Scholarships and other College Prizes, for distribution amongst the students of the College.⁵ But all this extravagant expenditure of public money has failed to draw away the Catholic youth of Ireland from

A costly failure. our unendowed and struggling Catholic Colleges, or to attract them to institutions in which, as the Holy See has warned them, the purity of their faith would be exposed to grievous danger. Of the three Queen's Colleges, the Belfast College, which is in all respects suited to the requirements of the Presbyterians of the Province of Ulster, has alone been successful. The miserable return made by the Queen's Colleges of Cork and Galway for the vast sums of public money that still continue to be expended upon them, is sufficiently shown by figures quoted in the course of this volume.⁶

In the September of 1850, a few days before the publication of the Pastoral Address from the Synod of

¹ See pages 401-404.

² See pages 404, 405.

³ See pages 405, 406

⁴ See also page 276; pages 333-351; and 440-447.

⁵ See page 473.

⁶ See pages 98-102; 105-115; 168-176; 179, 180; 226 227; 273-278; 303-305; 432-439; and 451-456.

Thurles, the Queen's College scheme was completed by the establishment of an organization entitled the Queen's University, incorporated for the purpose of conferring degrees in the various Faculties upon the students of the three Queen's Colleges.

The Queen's
University.

In this case, the distinction between Colleges and "University" was clearly marked. The so-called University was practically a mere examining body.¹ Its examiners were the Professors of the three Queen's Colleges. It held its annual meeting, for the conferring of degrees, in Dublin.

The next important event in the history of our University question was the establishment of an additional set of Scholarships, designated "Non-Foundation Scholarships," in Trinity College, Dublin.²

Trinity College;
the Non-Foundation
Scholarships.

These were established in 1854. They were to be tenable by students who might be debarred by the religious test from holding the ordinary Scholarships of the College. Thus, in so far as the mere Scholarships were concerned, the particular difficulty to which attention had been directed by Mr. Heron's case,³ was met. But the religious tests imposed as conditions for holding the Fellowships and other higher posts in the College were maintained intact. And, of course, nothing was done—as indeed it is not possible to suggest anything that could have been done—to bring the general system of the College into conformity with the essential requirements of Catholic principle.⁴

¹ See page 18.

² See *The Book of Trinity College, Dublin* (Belfast, 1892), page 92.

³ See *ante*, pages 27-30.

⁴ See pages 30-33; and 153-164.

The Catholic University- One of the results of the deliberations of the Synod of Thurles was the establishment of the Catholic University of Ireland. This important project was undertaken in accordance with a suggestion from Pius IX., who also put before the Bishops, as a well-defined model, the Catholic University of Louvain. The project was warmly taken up, and the funds necessary for the establishment of the new University were provided by generous subscriptions. The Bishops succeeded in obtaining the consent of Dr. Newman to become Rector. In June, 1854, he was formally installed, and the University commenced its work in the November of the same year.

A disheartening struggle. Effort after effort was made to induce successive Governments to grant a Charter to the new institution, legally recognising it as a University and empowering it to confer degrees. The Belgian Government, as was repeatedly pointed out, had granted such a recognition to the Catholic University of Louvain, founded, or rather restored, by the Belgian Bishops, in 1835. But no such good fortune awaited the Catholic University of Ireland. All Government recognition of it was sternly refused. In the circumstances, we need not wonder that, whereas Louvain, during the lifetime of its first Rector, saw its number of students increase from eighty to about nine hundred, the Catholic University of Ireland lingered on for years without being able to make any notable increase in its numbers. Dr. Newman held office for only a few years. It was not until 1866, when an important proposal was made by the Government of the day, that there seemed to be any prospect that the struggling institution ever would receive either that aid or

that recognition from the State without which it was vain to expect that it could very long continue to exist.

We have now reached the year 1866.
 1866:
 Beginning of the
 fourth period. This was the commencement of the period
 of hopeful reform'—hopeful, because, how-
 ever inadequate may have been the schemes for the
 removal of the Catholic grievance which have been
 proposed by more than one Government within this
 period, those schemes have been based upon the
 recognition of at least one fundamental fact of the case.
 This fact is, that our grievance never can be removed by
 any expedient that aims merely at providing for Catholics
 increased facilities for obtaining a University education
 or a University degree through their becoming students
 of any Protestant or “non-sectarian” College.²

The plan proposed by the Government
 The “Supple-
 mental Charter”
 scheme of 1866. in 1866, Earl Russell being then Prime
 Minister, comprised the following
 points:—The Catholic University in Stephen's Green,
 Dublin, was to receive a Charter of incorporation, but
 only as a College, not as a University. There was to
 be no endowment of the College, at least for teaching
 purposes. A provision was to be made enabling the
 students of the College to obtain degrees in an Irish
 University, without being obliged to enter either Trinity
 College or any of the Queen's Colleges. For this purpose,
 the Queen's University—which had previously been
 empowered to confer degrees only upon the students
 of the three Queen's Colleges—was to receive a Supple-
 mental Charter, enabling it, on the same terms, to confer

¹ See pages 18, 19.

² See pages 30-33; and 153-164.

degrees upon all comers, and therefore upon the students of the Catholic College. Moreover, the Senate of the Queen's University was to be enlarged, and it was understood that the new members to be nominated would be persons favourable to the carrying out of the project of reform.

Beyond the fact of its incorporating a Catholic College in which students could pursue their studies, and then take out their University degrees in an Irish University without having to become students either of Trinity College or of a Queen's College, the scheme of 1866 had nothing to recommend it. It left untouched the great and irritating grievance that the public endowments and grants for the teaching of University students in Ireland are given exclusively to Colleges either Protestant, or "non-sectarian," the educational system of which has been condemned by the supreme authority of the Catholic Church as "intrinsically dangerous" to the faith of Catholics frequenting those Colleges as students.¹

But the project came to nothing. The "Supplemental Charter" indeed was issued by the Crown, in June, 1866, and was accepted by the Senate of the Queen's University. Its acceptance, however, was carried by a very narrow majority, and even this was secured only by the votes of the newly-nominated members. But the act of the Senate was overruled by the Court of Chancery. On the motion of three Graduates of the University, an injunction was granted by the Master of the Rolls, who held the Charter to be illegal, and therefore restrained the Senate from acting in exercise of the powers which it purported to confer. This was the end of the "Supplemental Charter" scheme.

¹ See pages 30-33; 153-164; and 401-406.

Mr. Fawcett's
Bill of 1867.

In 1867, another attempt was made to deal with the Irish University question.

In that year, a Bill was brought in by Mr. Fawcett for the abolition of all religious tests in Trinity College, Dublin. This was defeated in the House of Commons, but only because there was an equality of votes, and the Speaker, in conformity with usage, voted against the proposal since it was not sustained by a majority of the House. It can hardly be necessary to observe that Mr. Fawcett's proposal, as a move in an essentially wrong direction,¹ received no support from the representatives of Irish Catholic opinion.

Lord Mayo's
scheme of 1868.

In 1868, the question was once more taken up by Government. Mr. Disraeli was then Prime Minister, and the Earl of Mayo was Chief Secretary for Ireland. On this occasion, a totally new line was entered upon. The Chief Secretary announced that it was intended to establish a Catholic University, and the announcement was rendered especially satisfactory by his further statement that, as far as circumstances would permit, the new University "should stand in the same position to Roman Catholics as Trinity College does to Protestants." This was promising. But there was a serious drawback; for it was explained that all question of endowing the new University was to be "postponed." The scheme was to contain no money clauses, except to the extent of providing "for the payment of the expenses of the examinations, for the foundation of a certain number of

¹ See pages 30-33; 153-164; and 401-406.

University Scholarships and the giving away of prizes, and also the payment of the salaries of certain officers and servants of the University, and perhaps some provision for a University Hall and examination rooms."

Upon the details of the scheme, the Chief Secretary entered into communication with two of the Irish Bishops who had been chosen by their episcopal brethren to carry on the necessary correspondence with the Government as to the provisions to be made for safeguarding religious interests. After the first interchange of letters, a hitch at once arose. The Bishops had claimed that, in reference to religious matters, a certain control should be vested in the four Bishops who were to be nominated as members of the University Senate, a body which was to consist of twenty members. The Chief Secretary's reply was a peremptory refusal to entertain the suggestion. "The proposition," he said, "that the Episcopal members of the Senate should possess *any power* greater than their lay colleagues, is one that Her Majesty's Government cannot entertain."

Lord Mayo's
proposal abruptly
withdrawn.

Having formally acknowledged the receipt of the Chief Secretary's letter, the two Bishops who were in correspondence with him proceeded, in consultation with their episcopal brethren, to consider if it would be possible in any way to provide the safeguards which were essential in relation to religious interests, without going outside the limits of the Government scheme as now definitely communicated to them. But within a very few days, and without previous intimation or notice of any kind, it was announced by the Chief Secretary in the House of Commons, to the amazement of everyone concerned, that the Government proposals were withdrawn.

A fruitless remonstrance. The two Bishops at once protested against the way in which they had been treated. The Chief Secretary then strove to put upon them the responsibility for the withdrawal of his proposals. His view was that the letter in which they had stated their claim was an ultimatum. They pointed out in reply that it was not, and that it did not purport to be, anything of the kind. As to their not having put forward any modification of their claim after they were informed by the Chief Secretary that the claim as first put forward by them could not be entertained, they called attention to the dates. The Chief Secretary had taken six weeks—from the 1st of April to the 11th of May—to formulate his letter, which was in reply to a previous one of theirs, dated the 31st of March. But he had not allowed them even a fortnight to consider this matter, which, in consequence of the terms of his letter, had become the most delicate and difficult to deal with in the whole case. That letter of his was dated the 11th of May. They had formally acknowledged its receipt on the 16th, and, within twelve days of his receiving the letter of acknowledgment, he had taken it upon himself, on the 29th of the same month, to announce that the correspondence was at an end.

They then pointed out that, as the abrupt close of the negotiations was evidently the result of a mere misapprehension of the facts, there was no reason why they should not be resumed. But, in a letter of the 30th of June, Lord Mayo replied that he could only repeat the answer already given in the House of Commons, that it was not the intention of the Government to take any further steps in the matter.

Thus this important project came to an end. The

whole incident naturally gave rise to much soreness of feeling.

The proposals
of 1866
and 1868.

This scheme of 1868 was, in a certain sense, preferable to that proposed by the Liberal Government¹ in 1866. But the same fundamental defect was common to the two. In the one, there was question only of a Catholic College, in the other there was question of a Catholic University ; but neither in the one nor in the other was there any provision for the requisite endowment. It does not indeed seem even to have been contemplated that the Catholics of Ireland could have any claim that their College, or their University, should stand in any position but one of obvious inequality, as compared with other Irish Colleges, Protestant or "non-sectarian,"—although it was now at length admitted that these could not be regarded as placing the advantages of University education really within the reach of the Catholic youth of the country.²

Solid ground
secured.

The one substantial gain, so far, was the recognition of that fundamental fact. Beginning with the "Supplemental Charter" scheme of 1866, no fewer than four schemes have been brought forward within the last thirty years by responsible Ministers of the Crown. In none of these has it been proposed that the step first taken in 1866 should be retraced. But, on the other hand, there was not one of them that did not fail to fulfil the fundamentally essential condition of equality of treatment, as between the University, or the College or Colleges, that were to be set up as suited to the requirements of the Catholic youth of Ireland, and the existing Universities and Colleges, that confessedly were not suited to those requirements.

¹ See pages 36, 37. ² See pages 30-33 ; 153-164 ; and 401-406.

Mr. Gladstone's
Scheme of 1873.

The next proposal was that embodied in Mr. Gladstone's University Bill of 1873. Briefly, it came to this: the Queen's University was to be abolished; so also was Queen's College, Galway; the University of Dublin, clearly distinguished from Trinity College,¹ was to be widened, so as to comprise, with Trinity College, every College in Ireland fulfilling certain prescribed conditions, notably that of having a prescribed number of matriculated students engaged in the studies of the University course; a staff of University professors, was to be established in Dublin; but, whilst Trinity College and the Queen's Colleges of Belfast and Cork were to continue to be maintained by public grants and endowments, there was to be no endowment for any Catholic College.

Equality,
and
inequality.

In this scheme, a further advance was made upon the schemes of 1866 and 1868. As regards University status, Trinity College was to be deprived of its monopoly of connection with the University of Dublin, and, in all the mutual relations of College and University, every University College in Ireland was to be placed on a footing of equality. But all this only served to render more painfully apparent the want of equity in the refusal to make any provision for the endowment of a Catholic College.

The scheme, as is well known, was rejected by the House of Commons in March, 1873, by a majority of three votes, and its rejection involved the downfall of one of the most powerful Ministries of modern times.

The abolition of
tests in Trinity
College, Dublin.

The rejection of Mr. Gladstone's Bill was followed by the introduction, for the second time,² of Mr. Fawcett's Bill for

¹ See pages 19-26.

² See page 38.

the abolition of all religious tests in Trinity College, and in the University of Dublin.

This Bill, intended to throw open every office and emolument of the College and of the University, to persons of any religion or of no religion at all, was, strange to say, favoured to a large extent by the authorities of the College and of the University. Probably they were influenced by the consideration that no such change in mere legal constitution could, to any appreciable extent, take away either from the College or from the University their essentially Protestant character.¹ The Bill was, of course, strongly opposed by the representatives of Irish Catholic opinion in the House of Commons.² But in spite of their earnest protests, it was passed by a large majority.

Next came the establishment of the
The Royal
University. Royal University, on the motion of the
Beaconsfield Administration in 1879.

The immediate occasion of the establishment of the Royal University was the introduction of a Bill by the O'Connor Don, in May, 1879, for the establishment in Ireland of a new University. The University, St. Patrick's, thus projected, was to have an endowment of £30,000 or £40,000 a year. It was to be primarily an examining body. But it was also to be empowered to promote and direct the work of University teaching in any Colleges in Ireland fulfilling certain conditions, two of these conditions being that the College was to have a specified number of University students, and that it was not to be a College otherwise endowed or aided from any other public source.

¹ See pages 150-153; 196, 197; 224; 249, 250; 252; 286-291; and 297-298.

² See pages 144-147.

The debate on the second reading of the O'Connor Don's Bill was cut short by an announcement that the Government themselves would at once bring in a University Bill for Ireland. This was the Bill for the establishment of the Royal University.

The Government scheme, to which effect was at once given by an Act of Parliament and a Royal Charter, is still in operation. It left the University of Dublin and Trinity College untouched. It also left untouched the three Queen's Colleges; but it abolished the "Queen's University," and practically carried out the policy of the "Supplemental Charter,"¹ by establishing, under the name of "The Royal University of Ireland," a new examining body, empowered to give degrees to all comers, on condition, of course, of their successfully passing the prescribed examination. The Senate of the new "University" was authorized to prepare a scheme of Fellowships, Scholarships, Exhibitions, and other prizes. If the scheme so drawn up by the Senate were approved, the moneys requisite for the carrying out of it were to be provided by Parliament. In the following year this was done, the new organization receiving an endowment of £20,000 a year.

Provisions, more or less effective, were drawn up by the Senate to secure that as little as possible of this amount should go either to the Professors or other officers, or to students of the endowed Colleges. It was also arranged

that a number of University "Fellowships,"

The "Fellowships,"

each worth £400 a year, were to be held on the condition of teaching in some

College to be approved for the purpose by the Senate, and this arrangement has been utilized as a means of giving

¹ See pages 36, 37.

some help to the work of the College of the Catholic University in Stephen's Green, Dublin. But, with the exception of the wretchedly inadequate sum thus made available, no public aid of any kind is given, directly or indirectly, to any Catholic College in Ireland. Even for the prizes of the Royal University, the students of our Catholic Colleges have to compete with the students of the three Queen's Colleges, who, as it has been well expressed by a distinguished Professor of the Presbyterian Magee College, Derry, are "aided in preparing for their examinations by State funds,—libraries, laboratories, and other educational appliances being provided for them at the public expense, while all such assistance is denied to the students of denominational Colleges."¹

It will be seen that, as compared
A slight advantage,
and a notable
drawback, with the scheme to which Mr. Gladstone's Bill of 1873 was meant to give effect, the Royal University presents, in one respect, a slight advantage. Through the system of "Fellowships," some financial aid, though wholly inadequate in amount, and most unsatisfactory in its mode of application,² is given to one Catholic College.³ But, on the other hand, there is the grave and irritating drawback,—a drawback which cannot be eliminated by any liberality in the mere matter of endowment—that, as regards University privileges and University status, no Catholic College can hold a position other than one of tangible and humiliating inferiority, in contrast with the position of Trinity College, which, through its monopoly of connection with the University of Dublin, has, practically, within itself, all the advantages of a College and of a University combined.⁴

¹ See pages 56, 57. ² See pages 300, 301; and 458-464. ³ See page 44.

⁴ See pages 22; 221, 222; 265-267; 380, 381; 383, 384; and 390-392.

Universities and Colleges:

The Catholic
University:
a modification.

In consequence of the necessity of working on the lines of the system of examinations that was practically forced upon the leading Catholic Colleges of Ireland by the establishment of the Royal University, an important modification was made in the constitution of the Catholic University. Notwithstanding the dissolution of the Queen's University, the three Queen's Colleges would still, in popular estimation, form a connected group. To a large extent, the successes, such as they might be, of each of these Colleges would go to the credit of the system of Queen's Colleges, as a whole. It would, in some sense, be a set-off against this, if a number of our Catholic Colleges could similarly be grouped together as parts of the whole to which they naturally belonged,—our unendowed and legally unrecognised Catholic University.

Accordingly, the new arrangement was made in October, 1882. Under the scheme then drawn up, it was arranged that the associated Colleges, whilst retaining their own independent Collegiate organizations, should work together for the advancement of higher Catholic Education.

The Catholic University of Ireland, as thus understood, now embraces the following Colleges:—St. Patrick's College, Maynooth; University College, St. Stephen's green, Dublin; University College, Blackrock; St. Patrick's College, Carlow; Holy Cross College, Clonliffe; and the Catholic University School of Medicine, Cecilia-street, Dublin.

The Catholic University School of Medicine in Cecilia-street had been in existence since 1855; and,

since 1876, Maynooth College had been constituted a College of the Catholic University. But until 1872, the official designation of the College in St. Stephen's green had remained unchanged, and it continued to be called "the Catholic University." In 1882, its official designation was changed into that by which it has since been known, "University College, Dublin."

The brilliant success of the various Colleges of the Catholic University, as attested by the number of distinctions carried off by the students of those unendowed Colleges—most notably by the students of University College, Dublin, University College, Blackrock, and the Catholic University School of Medicine in Cecilia-street—in their unequal competition with the students of the three well-endowed Queen's Colleges of Belfast, Cork, and Galway, is one of the most striking facts in the history of education in these countries.¹

This, then, is the present position of our Irish University arrangements.

The Catholic
claim.

As to the Catholic claim, it is of the simplest kind. Time after time, this claim has been put forward by the Catholic Bishops of Ireland as guardians of the religious interests of our Catholic people, and has been pressed by them upon the attention of politicians and of statesmen.

A Catholic
University.

The claim, as formulated by the Bishops themselves, has, from the first, been for the establishment of a Catholic University.² Such a University, in order fully to satisfy this claim,

¹ See pages 97-102; 105-115; 168-180; 226, 227; 273-278; 303-305; 432-439; and 451-457.

² See page 93.

should have its endowed College or Colleges, working in absolute freedom from all non-Catholic control. Furthermore, in so far as the University might be distinct from its Colleges, it should itself be endowed. Finally, the public endowments in connection with it, whether for Collegiate, or for University purposes, should be fully up to the level of equality with those provided by the State in connection with any other existing system of education which has, on religious grounds, to be treated as unsuitable for the University education of the Catholic youth of Ireland.¹

Other
alternatives. But in all this matter, the Bishops have never shown themselves to be unreasonable or impracticable. They have acquiesced in the view, whenever it was suggested by any responsible statesman, that the University question is capable of being settled upon other lines. Since 1871, at all events, they stand pledged to the statement, that, in so far as religious interests are concerned, a settlement could be come to on the basis of a Catholic College or Colleges, as distinct from a Catholic University, being recognised and endowed by the State.² Manifestly, except in a purely legal sense,³ a Catholic University, if worthy of the name, would be a University, both in reality and in public estimation, even though the State might recognise it only as a College, or even refuse to recognise it at all. Upon one point only, there can be no room for compromise or concession. In whatever way the settlement of this great question is to be reached, no settlement of it can be regarded as final, or even as really satisfactory for the time, which does not comply with the one essential condition of equality.⁴

¹ See pages 30-33 ; 153-164 ; and 401-406.

² See pages 92 ; 120 ; 357 ; and 422.

⁴ See throughout this volume, *passim*.

³ See page 18.

Untenable
ground.

It has sometimes of late been alleged as a reason for refusing to comply with the Catholic claim to justice in the matter of University education in Ireland, or for hesitating to comply with that claim, that statesmen have never been informed on what lines it is desired that the question should be dealt with. No statement could be more plainly at variance with fact. Over and over again, they have been informed that there are at all events three possible plans of equitable settlement.¹ It has been pointed out to them what each of these plans involves. How, in the face of all this, can it be stated, not to say with truth, but with any semblance of plausibility, that they are left in the dark as to what we want?

The Catholic laity: Declaration of 1870. In this matter, which so directly and so deeply concerns the Catholic laity of Ireland, the position of the laity was admirably defined in an outspoken assertion of their rights as subjects of the Crown, which was presented to Mr. Gladstone, as Prime Minister, in 1870:—

“We, the undersigned Roman Catholic laymen, deem it our duty to express as follows our opinions on University Education.

“1. That it is the constitutional right of all British subjects to adopt whatever system of Collegiate or University Education they prefer.

“2. That perfect religious equality involves equality in all educational advantages afforded by the State.

“3. That a large number of Irishmen are at present precluded from the enjoyment of University Education, honours, and emoluments, on account of conscientious religious opinions regarding the existing systems of education.

¹ See page 92; and pages 239-241.

“4. That we therefore demand such a change in the system of Collegiate and University Education as will place those who entertain these conscientious objections on a footing of equality with the rest of their fellow-countrymen, as regards Colleges, University honours and emoluments, University examinations, government, and representation.”

That Declaration was signed by Catholic Peers, Privy Councillors, Deputy Lieutenants, Members of Parliament, Justices of the Peace, Mayors of Cities, Chairmen of Town Commissions, by representatives, in a word, of every class and section of the Catholic laity of Ireland.

The experience of the last quarter of a century has shown the Catholic laity of Ireland how little weight is attached to any statement of theirs in the case. How often are they to be called upon to renew the assertion of their rights as subjects of the Crown before they can expect to have those rights recognised?

Renewed Declaration of the Catholic laity in 1896. With commendable perseverance they have, however, now renewed it. A fresh Declaration on the subject, identical in terms with that presented to Mr. Gladstone in 1870, and sustained by a long array of signatures, in some respects even more impressive than that attached to the Declaration of 1870, has been presented to Lord Salisbury as Prime Minister, to Mr. A. J. Balfour, as First Lord of the Treasury, to Lord Cadogan, as Lord Lieutenant, and to Mr. G. W. Balfour, as Chief Secretary for Ireland.

This Declaration, with the names of the signatories, is printed towards the close of this volume.¹

¹ See pages 479-493.

II.

SPEECH AT HOLY CROSS COLLEGE,
CLONLIFFE.

(*September 14th, 1885.*)



SPEECH AT HOLY CROSS COLLEGE, CLONLIFFE.

(*September 14th, 1885.*)

[The following passages are quoted from a speech delivered by the Archbishop in reply to an Address of welcome presented to him at Clonliffe College, Dublin, on the 14th of September, 1885, by the Students of University College, Blackrock.]

I may be expected to state to you my present view of our position as Catholics, in reference to the existing provision for Catholic University Education in Ireland.

First, I take the constitution of the
The Royal University—an unsound principle. Royal University, as set up by Act of Parliament. The fatal defect of the new University in its constitution is that it has been built up upon a principle radically different from that laid down as fundamental, in one of his greatest speeches, by that great statesman of whom, notwithstanding much that he has said, and done, and written, I cannot speak but as an earnest friend of Ireland, Mr. Gladstone.¹

¹ It may not be superfluous to point out that when this speech was delivered, Mr. Gladstone was very far indeed from being a popular favourite in Ireland. But a few months before, in June, 1885, he and his colleagues in the Ministry had resigned office in consequence of an adverse vote of the House of Commons, in which the Irish Nationalist members, influenced by many considerations, had turned the scale against them.

In September, 1885, it was not contemplated even as a possibility that the policy of Home Rule for Ireland was about to be brought, through Mr. Gladstone's advocacy, to the foremost place in the programme of the English Liberal party.

Mr. Gladstone's
scheme of
1873.

The principle insisted upon as fundamental by Mr. Gladstone was lucidly set forth in the speech in which he unfolded the scheme of his well-meant but in many respects sadly defective, Irish University Bill¹ of 1873. It was, that if the University arrangements of Ireland were to be remodelled, so as to admit Catholics and their Colleges to the advantages of a University system, the University to the advantages of which they were to be admitted should not be a new University, "hobbling and lagging," as he expressed it, behind the ancient University of Dublin. The very starting-point of Mr. Gladstone's proposed reform was that we should be admitted to the advantages of the University of Dublin itself, in which he would have included the whole University organization of the country.

And, as he showed, in thus including it, so far would he have been from introducing any violent change into the constitution of the ancient University of Dublin, that he would, in fact, have been but giving effect to one of the fundamental principles of its constitution. For, as he explained, Trinity College, Dublin, had originally been founded, not as practically constituting a University, which it now does, but as the *Mater Universitatis*,—meaning thereby, to quote Mr. Gladstone's own words, "that from the College a University was to spring up," as it soon sprang up in fact, a University of which other Colleges were to appear from time to time.²

The project of a
Catholic Univer-
sity.

Do not misunderstand me. I am not now expressing any opinion on the merits of another project—the project of a

¹ See page 42.

² See pages 19-27.

distinct Catholic University, independent of every non-Catholic institution, and, in this position of independence, chartered and endowed by the State.¹ For I am speaking of the actually existing state of things, in which our Catholic Colleges have not been recognised as constituting a distinct University organization, but in which,—in so far as we have been introduced into the University organization at all,—we have been introduced into it in connection with the Colleges of that “hobbling” and “lagging” University, of which Mr. Gladstone spoke, whilst we are excluded from all share in the advantage of becoming an integral part of that which he went on to describe as the “ancient,” “historic,” “national,” University of the country.

We may well concur in the sentiment expressed by Mr. Gladstone in the course of the same speech, that no such plan as that to which we have thus been forced for a time to submit, can be regarded as going to the root of the matter, or as characterized by that comprehensiveness and that solidity which are essential elements of any scheme that is to afford promise of finality, even in that limited sense of the word in which it is applicable to human affairs.

Then, over and above the first and
Unequal terms of partnership. fundamental defect of the present strange
system of grouping our University students, there is another which I should not altogether omit to mention. Whilst we are cut off from the venerable traditions of the University of Dublin, and placed in a forced companionship with the Queen’s Colleges, a companionship of which we have good reason most bitterly to

¹ See pages 47, 48.

complain, the terms of the working partnership thus forced upon us are terms of the most unjust and glaring inequality.

Strange statement
of the
Chancellor of the
Royal University.

In the account of the proceedings at the first distribution of honours and prizes in the Royal University, in the official address delivered on the occasion by the Duke of Abercorn, as Chancellor of the new University, I find an extraordinary, and to me, wholly inexplicable, statement. After pointing out that one of the objects, if not the main object, of the establishment of the Royal University, was to put an end to a state of things in which "the higher education of the Roman Catholics of Ireland was subject to many and great disadvantages," the Duke of Abercorn went on to say :—

"By the institution we are inaugurating to-day, a field is open to them, in which they may compete, without let or hindrance or disadvantage, with the whole body of their fellow-countrymen, in every branch of literature and science, and with all the substantial rewards open to them that crown success in those departments."

How sadly divergent from the view thus officially set before the public is the actual condition of affairs! For the preparation of students such as those of your College for the examinations of the Royal University, not one particle of aid is provided by the State. When they present themselves in the examination halls of the University in competition for its prizes and honours, they are disheartened by the reflection that their struggle is to be, not with students prepared on equal terms with themselves, but with students such as those of the Queen's Colleges, who,—as a Presbyterian Professor¹ of the Magee

¹ Professor Leebody, of the (Presbyterian) Magee College, Derry.

College, Derry, has well expressed it—"are aided in preparing for their examinations by State funds ; libraries, laboratories, and other educational appliances being provided for them at the public expense, while all such assistance is denied to the students of denominational colleges." And yet it is proclaimed to the world, on the highest official authority, that you are no longer subject to any "disadvantage" in competing for the rewards that crown success in the Royal University !

How the Catholic
claim should be
made.

Now what advice do I give as to the line of policy to be pursued¹ in our seeking for that just and final settlement of this question, for which we have been kept waiting so many years ? Are we to go to work, for instance, by putting into shape, definite and detailed, whether in the form of a Parliamentary Bill or otherwise, the outline of some definite scheme which we should be disposed to press for as a settlement of our long-standing claim ? So far as my advice can be supposed to have any weight with those who are engaged in the public discussion of this question, I would most earnestly entreat of them to think of nothing of the kind.

We make no proposals as to one form of arrangement or another. We content ourselves with pointing out the existing inequality. We ask for its removal in whatever way those who are responsible for the government of the country deem it most consistent with the principles of sound statesmanship to remove it. But removed the inequality must be, absolutely and unreservedly, so as to leave not a trace behind.

¹ See pages 367-370.

Our demand is a simple one. It is a demand for nothing more than justice, and equality, and fair dealing. Asking for nothing more, is it unreasonable for us to declare that we shall be satisfied with nothing less, and that, so long as this simple claim remains unsatisfied, so long must the struggle last, for it can end only with the day, whether we may live to see that day or not, when it can no longer be said with truth of any Irish Catholic that he is placed under any shadow of disadvantage before the law because of his conscientious respect for the commands, or even for the counsels, of his Church.

III.

A CONSERVATIVE JOURNAL ON THE IRISH
UNIVERSITY QUESTION IN 1885.

(September 16th, 1885).



A CONSERVATIVE JOURNAL ON THE IRISH UNIVERSITY QUESTION IN 1885.

(September 16th, 1885.)

[The following is an extract from an article in *The Dublin Evening Mail* of September 16th, 1885, written in reference to the Archbishop's speech of the 14th of that month.¹

The article is quoted here as furnishing a useful basis for an estimate of the notable progress that has been made in the advancement of the University Question since then.² The article also forcibly illustrates the misleading tendency that exists, to represent the forced acquiescence of Irish Catholics in what is at best but a lesser evil, as equivalent to an acceptance of that lesser evil as a satisfactory settlement of our claim to justice and equality of treatment.]

We hope that the Irish University

A dead question. Question is not going to be galvanized into activity again. Everybody except Archbishop Walsh is sick of it. The coming Parliament will have more important matters to attend to ; and so will the Government, whatever be the Government then in power.

There is no class of the Irish community

Everything that desires to make any fundamental
"amicably settled." change in the present University System.

The Protestants are quite satisfied with Trinity College. The Presbyterians of the North are crowding to Belfast. . . As to the Catholic population, they contribute something like six hundred "entrances" every year to the Royal, a sufficient proof, one would say, of the popularity of that University with the denomination for which it was mainly and primarily intended.

¹ See page 53.

² See page 187.

Of course these statements must be taken in the rough. There are Roman Catholics who prefer Trinity to the Royal, and there are Protestants who prefer the Royal to Trinity. But, on the whole, the country is well satisfied with the provisions made in it for University education, and is most reluctant to engage in any new discussion of a question so recently and so amicably settled.

IV.

SPEECH AT UNIVERSITY COLLEGE,
DUBLIN.

(September 22nd, 1885.)



SPEECH AT UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN.

(*September 22nd, 1885.*)

[The following passages are quoted from the Archbishop's speech in reply to an Address presented to him by the President, Professors, and Students of University College, Dublin, on the 22nd of September, 1885.]

You enable me to protest, in your name as well as in my own, against a statement which I have met with, within the past few days, in the course of a criticism by a leading Protestant newspaper of our city, on an address that I recently delivered¹ on the question of Catholic University Education.

If we are to take as an expression of the views of the great Conservative party the programme set forth by this leading Conservative journal, we are doomed to a perpetuation of the existing injustice. The criticism begins with these startling words :—

“We hope that the Irish University Question is not going to be galvanized into life again. Everybody but Archbishop Walsh is sick of it. The coming Parliament will have more important matters to attend to ; and so will the Government, whatever be the Government then in power.”²

What are we to think of such an announcement as this, made, as it has been, through the columns of a high-class Conservative organ, whilst as yet not three months have

¹ See page 53.

² See page 61.

elapsed since a Cabinet Minister,¹ speaking from his place in the House of Commons, publicly stated that the introduction of a measure on this very subject of Irish University education would form part of the Ministerial programme for next Session?

Here are the words of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach. Speaking on the Irish University Question, in the House of Commons, on the 28th of last July, he said :—

“ I should wish to say, in the first place, that I do not think this is a question which ought to be approached in the idea of concession or conciliation.

“ I should wish to approach it with the sole idea and desire of endeavouring to spread, as far as possible, what I believe to be the great blessing of University education in Ireland, among all persons, whatever their creed, and, as far as possible, whatever their class, if duly qualified to receive it.”

“ If it be our lot to be in authority next year, I hope that we shall be able to advance some proposal which will be a satisfactory settlement of this most important question.”

But now, it seems, the question is to be treated as dead, dead beyond the possibility of being galvanized into motion or vitality. And as to its being made the subject of legislative reform, our simplicity and credulity in putting faith in the word of a responsible Minister of the Crown are but laughed at. We ought, it seems, to have interpreted that public declaration in the sense that if the question was ever again to be dealt with, it was to be dealt with only on the preposterous hypothesis, now farther than ever from realization, that the Parliament and the Government would have nothing else to do.

I do not care further to discuss this aspect of the question. Yet it is not unimportant. Public rumour indeed has assigned the authorship of the article in question to a writer

¹ See page 127.

of some standing in the educational world of Dublin. If I could believe that this was true, I should feel called upon to take some notice of it in detail. But it bears intrinsic marks that conjecture is here wholly astray. For the writer of it would rather seem to have been one of that unfortunately very numerous class of people who in great measure derive their notions of Universities and University education from the effect produced upon an ordinary passer-by by an outside view of Trinity College, Dublin. Such persons, and there are many of them even amongst those who speak and write very freely on this subject, seem utterly incapable of grasping the idea of the essential difference between a College and a University.¹

To any English statesman on whom the duty may lie of framing the plan which is to have the merit of settling this long unsettled claim of ours, I would put these two questions.

First, I would ask him whether he
Have we equality? can take it upon himself honestly to say
that the Catholic University students
of Ireland—you, for instance, students of the Royal University and of this College, and the other students of the Royal University, students of Catholic Colleges throughout the country,—at present stand on an equal footing, or on anything on the most remote degree approaching an equal footing, with the students of Trinity College, Dublin, or of the three Queen's Colleges of Belfast, Cork, and Galway? I should probably be told that it was a mere waste of time for me to put that

¹ See pages 3 and 4.

question at all, as it was now universally admitted that something, and indeed a good deal, has still to be done for Catholics in this matter of University education.

Then I would put my second question,
 Have we not a right to equality? —Will any English statesman now take

upon himself the responsibility of saying that legislation upon this matter is to proceed on any other line than that of giving us that full and absolute equality which we ask for and insist upon having, beyond which we do not dream of looking, but short of which we can rest satisfied with nothing as a settlement of our claim? I do not believe that any responsible Minister will now be found to dispute our right to this, or to obstruct us in our efforts to obtain it.

And this brings me to another important aspect of the case. Any legislation that is to be introduced upon this subject must proceed on one or other of two widely diverging lines. There is here no middle course.

The necessity for legislation has arisen
 The root of the existing difficulty. from the fact that, in consequence of their religious convictions, and from their respect for the teaching authority and for the solemn warnings of their Church,¹ a large body of students—students otherwise qualified in every respect for the highest honours and prizes that are set up for competition by the State as an encouragement for successful University work,² —are shut out from the competition in which these honours and prizes are to be won. Moreover, even in so far as those students are admissible to the competition for the honours and prizes of the Royal University, they are obliged to

¹ See pages 153-164, and 400-405, where this point is fully developed.

² See page 33, and the pages there referred to in footnote 4.

enter the lists under those monstrously unequal terms of competition to which attention has been so often and so loudly, but unfortunately, I am bound to add, so fruitlessly, directed.

I speak of the terms of the competition for the honours and prizes in the Royal University as monstrously unequal. For, even for those honours and prizes, our students have to compete with the students of the three Queen's Colleges and of Trinity College, Dublin, that is to say, with students who are aided in preparing for the examination by State funds ; professors, libraries, laboratories, and all other educational means and appliances, being provided for them at the public expense, while all such assistance is denied to the students of Catholic or of other denominational Colleges.¹

That this inequality exists, no one will now venture to question. That it is to be upheld and perpetuated, no one, let us hope, will now be found to maintain. But the special point to which I wish here to direct attention is this, that all this indefensible inequality is the necessary result of the maintenance of the existing University arrangements of the country, side by side with a fact that cannot on any principle of equity be left out of consideration. This fact is, that from the enjoyment of the advantages of University education and of University prizes and distinctions, thus provided by the State, Catholic students are excluded, in so far as they feel conscientiously called upon to yield obedience to the warning voice of their Church, and consequently keep clear of those State-endowed Colleges against which the Church has

Penalties imposed
upon respect for
conscientious
convictions.

¹ See pages 56, 57.

warned them, as involving peril to the preservation of their Catholic faith and to their fidelity in the practice of those religious duties which, as Catholics, they are bound to fulfil.¹

Let me quote the words of a Resolution
 Judgment of the Holy See. of the Irish Bishops at their last General

Meeting on the 1st of October, 1884, not yet twelve months ago:—

“We renew our condemnation of the Queen’s Colleges, and of Trinity College, Dublin, and warn Catholic parents of the grave dangers to which they expose their children by sending them to those institutions so often condemned by the Holy See as intrinsically dangerous to faith and morals.”²

Is account to be
 taken of the
 religious difficulty
 or not?

I am not now, of course, concerned with the defence of the action thus taken by the Holy See and by the Bishops. I take it simply as an existing fact. What I say about it is, that all legislation for the removal of the existing grievance of Catholics in Irish University education, as viewed in reference to this important fact, must proceed on one or other of two widely diverging lines.

A possible view of
 the case.

It may, on the one hand, proceed on the line of putting that fact out of account, and of dealing with the question as if no real barrier existed, and as if the Catholic University students of the country were holding back out of sheer obstinacy and self-will from entering the Colleges at present endowed in Ireland. That is one way of looking at the case; and practically undistinguishable from it is the view of those who do not, indeed, shut their eyes to the fact of this authoritative ecclesiastical teaching,

¹ See pages 153-164

² See pages 30-33, 153-164, and 400-406.

but who think that their own opinion as to the merits of the question thus authoritatively adjudicated upon for Catholics should be accepted by Catholics as a rule of conduct.

This, then, is the first possible line on which legislation may proceed—to make no account whatever of the religious convictions by which so large a number of Catholic students, many of them students of the very highest academic distinction and promise,¹ are debarred from taking advantage of the existing provisions for University education, provisions that are freely and fully placed within the reach of others.

The Queen's College
fiction. This view, for instance, is frequently put forward in the Official Reports of the Presidents of the Queen's Colleges.¹ Here is a specimen taken at random :—

“The Scholarships of the Queen's Colleges are open for competition to all creeds and parties. They are, in fact, as truly national as the Scholarships in the Royal University itself.”

And again :—

“It is misleading to assert or to insinuate that our Scholarships are restricted to any class. . . . They are open on equal terms to all who choose to compete for them—as open as those of the Royal University itself.”

This is one view of the case, treating the religious convictions of Catholics as if they were of no account. mere cobwebs to be brushed away.

The other view of
the case. The other view is that the religious convictions of Irish Catholics are to be respected, and respected, not in name only, but in reality ; that the existence of the religious difficulty is to be recognised as a fact ; that with the merits of those

See page 33, and the pages there referred to in *footnote 4*.

acts of ecclesiastical authority on which these religious convictions rest, the legislature, in this essentially non-Catholic constitution under which we live, has no more to do than it has to do with the merits of the definition of the Council of Trent regarding the doctrine of Transubstantiation ; and that, from the statesman's point of view, the practical question is, not whether Catholics are right or wrong in yielding obedience to the voice of their Church, but whether they do as a matter of fact yield obedience to it.

In the former view of the case, no inequality, no grievance of any kind, exists. In the latter view, the existing arrangements are vitiated, from beginning to end, by the fatal taint of inequality.

The champions of the existing system, who are, in the main, paid official advocates of it,—are, of course, in favour of the former view. But that view we may now put aside, not merely as condemned by leading individual statesmen of the two great English parties, but as consigned to practical oblivion by the formal and unanimous action of the two Houses of the legislature, in abolishing the Queen's University, and establishing the Royal University, in 1879.¹

Mr. Gladstone's
speech in 1873.

See how Mr. Gladstone put it, in that noble speech from which I took an opportunity of quoting, a few days ago, in illustration of another matter.² Speaking of this very point, of the religious convictions by which so many of our Irish Catholic youth are shut out from the advantages of University education, he said :—

' Let me observe, in the first instance, that the question is not whether we agree with them or no. . . . There is more to say. When

¹ See pages 43, 44.

² See page 53.

it was observed in former times that the great majority of the people of Ireland were Roman Catholics, it was answered, ' So much the worse for them ; let them adopt the true religion, and then all difficulties will disappear.' But Parliament came to the conclusion that it was its duty to recognise the fact, and to accept the consequence. . . .

" It is not our business to inquire whether the Roman Catholics are right in their opinion, or whether they are wrong. The question for us is rather this : Supposing that they are wrong, is it right in us, is it wise, that they should be excluded from University training ?"

Here, then, we find the starting-point
The one essential requirement. from which any legislation that is to
have the merit of finally settling this
long-unsettled question must set out. It must recognise, fully and frankly, the inequality involved in the continued existence of even one, no matter though it be the least, of the disadvantages that still press so heavily on many Catholic students, disadvantages which are the result of their fidelity to their conscientious religious convictions ; and, in so far as it is to be a success, it must remove them all.



V.

SPEECH AT BLACKROCK COLLEGE.

(October 1st, 1885.)



SPEECH AT BLACKROCK COLLEGE.

(*October 1st, 1885.*)

[The speech from which the following passage is taken was delivered in reply to an Address presented by the junior students of Blackrock College, and had reference mainly to the claims of Catholics in the department of Intermediate Education. But the passage here transcribed is of general import.]

Fair play and equal dealing is all that we, the Catholics of Ireland, look for. But while we shall be satisfied, fully satisfied, with equality, we should lose no opportunity of making it known to all whom it may concern that we shall not be satisfied with one iota less. I believe that in the past we have lost much by failing to keep this one point steadily in view. The demand for equality, whilst it is the most ample, is also, at the same time, a moderate and an irresistible statement of our claim.

In the struggle that may be before us, let us firmly refuse to allow ourselves to be drawn off upon any other track.¹ Let us especially keep clear of the fatal mistake of putting forth a claim for anything that could be regarded as a half measure, much less for anything that would be but a small instalment of justice.²

¹ See page 57.

² See page 61.

And when remedial measures are offered
The test of an equitable scheme of settlement. to us, let us apply to them this one safe standard, and this one standard only.

Let the question be, not whether they give us some help where as yet we have had none, but whether they give us all the help that has so long been given to others ; not whether they lower the barriers that have so long obstructed our path, but whether they sweep those barriers away ; not whether they give us a somewhat freer access than we as yet have had to the treasure-house of learning, but whether they throw open to us the doors of that treasure-house, fully, unreservedly, and on identically the same terms on which they are thrown open to our fellow-countrymen of other convictions and of other religious creeds.

This, plainly, is what we have a right to look for, and I am convinced that, in this matter, as in others, the honest course of proclaiming with the utmost openness what it is that we really seek, will in the end be found to have been the straightest and the surest road to success.

VI.

SPEECH AT THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF MEDICINE, DUBLIN.

(November 6th, 1885.)



SPEECH AT THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF MEDICINE, DUBLIN.

(November 6th, 1885.)

[The following passages are taken from a speech delivered by the Archbishop in reply to an address presented to him by the Students of the Catholic University School of Medicine, Cecilia-street, Dublin.]

You claim for yourselves no exceptional privileges. You do not claim to have degrees conferred on you by a University which, however fully it might satisfy our legitimate demands as the Catholic people of this Catholic nation, could, after all, be sneered at as an "upstart"

institution, the growth of a few months
Our students
seek no exceptional
privileges. or years. The object of your ambition
is not to become the graduates of an
institution which, however high might be its standard of requirements, however honourable the men to whom it entrusted the conduct of its examinations, could never, or at least could not in my time or in yours, win for itself that prestige which has been so honourably won, and is so honourably maintained, by the still practically Protestant University of Dublin.¹ You say:—

"Whilst we have proved our loyalty to the principle of denominational education, we have no fear of a common standard of examination for all the students of our common Fatherland. We look forward to some settlement of this question which shall give us a great National University."

Speaking, as, of course, I speak here to-day, solely for

¹ See pages 43 : 150-153 ; 196, 197 ; 224 ; 249, 250 ; 252 ; 286-291 ; and 297, 298.

myself, I cannot but endorse this wish of yours. For the reason which I indicated a few moments ago, I find it impossible to discover in any other principle¹ for the settlement of this great question, the foundation of that absolute equality which, for my part, I cannot but regard as the one essential element in any scheme that is to be accepted as a satisfactory settlement of our admitted claims.

Let me quote for you one illustration of the disadvantage—that is to say, the inequality,—to which we are at present subjected by the absence of a common standard for our degrees.²

Almost the last answer given before the Sir F. R. Cruise : a recent Queen's Colleges Commission—it striking statement of the case. was an answer given by one of our foremost medical men in Dublin, our friend, Dr. Cruise,—was to the following effect. Dr. Cruise was asked to compare in some way or other the degrees given by the ancient Universities of Oxford and Cambridge with those given by Universities of recent growth, given, for instance, by the Royal University, of which Dr. Cruise is a member of the governing body, the Senate of that University. Speaking of those ancient Universities, he says :—

“They have all the advantages and the *eclat* of tradition. We have to make way against the want of that in the Royal University, and therefore we must make our curriculum good and our examination stiff.”

This answer of Dr. Cruise is the outcome of strong common sense. The requisite “goodness” of curriculum we cannot and do not object to. Neither can we, nor do

¹ As to various ways in which this principle might be applied, see page 92, and pages 239, 240.

² For another illustration, different in kind, but quite as appropriate as that furnished by Dr. (now Sir Francis) Cruise's answer, see pages 409, 410.

we object to the requisite "stiffness" in the examination. But what we do object to, and what we must continue to object to, is our being forced, as we are at present forced, to submit to a system in which, if we wish to hold our heads as high as our more fortunate neighbours are entitled to hold theirs, we can do so only by making our curriculum "better" and our examination "stiffer" than those by which their qualifications are tried.

Thus, then, we are in accord as to this
The claim for a National University. fundamental point. You protest against
exaction and oppression, but you are far from wishing that your medical degrees should be conferred upon you on easier terms than those on which they are conferred upon the students of any other University College in Ireland or in the Empire. In this sense I understand your aspiration for a National University, and in this sense I endorse it.



VII.

SPEECH AT THURLES.

(January 14th, 1886.)



SPEECH AT THURLES.¹

(January 14th, 1886.)

[On the occasion of a visit of the Archbishop of Dublin to Thurles, in January, 1886, one of the addresses of welcome presented to him was from the President, Professors, and Students of St. Patrick's College in that town. In the course of his reply the Archbishop touched upon the University question. It had come to be generally assumed that, in pursuance of an announcement officially made by Sir Michael Hicks-Beach in the House of Commons in the preceding session of Parliament,² the Ministry intended at once to deal with the question.

The general belief at the time, however, was that they did not contemplate the placing of any Catholic College upon a footing of equality with Trinity College; that their plan would take the form of merely endowing a Catholic College in connection with the Royal University; and that in this way,—the Catholic opposition being, to a certain extent, bought off by means of the pecuniary aid so granted,—Trinity College would be secured in the permanent possession of its old position of ascendancy.

Against the notion that any scheme thus based upon a foundation of inequality could be regarded as an equitable settlement of the Irish University question, the Archbishop took this opportunity of protesting.]

From the signs and whisperings that
A warning forecast. are in the air around us, it would be no difficult task to sketch the outlines of the measure that will be offered to us. Its main purpose will be to buttress up that ancient citadel of ascendancy and exclusiveness³ which has stood for centuries in College-green.

Ascendancy or
equality? To maintain unshaken that standing monument of conquest, this new proposal will in all probability offer us the heaviest

¹ As to this speech, see pages 309-330.

² See page 66.

³ The appropriateness of this word "exclusiveness," as here applied, has

of heavy bribes. If so, I can safely prophesy of this new attempt that may be made to patch up the wretched system with which the Catholics of Ireland are forced to content themselves as a system of University education,¹ that it will but serve to add one other item to the long catalogue of sad and disastrous failures. For, so long as that central fortress of the Trinity College as a citadel of Protestant ascendency education that is not Catholic is allowed to stand, as it has now so long stood, in the very foremost position, and to occupy the most glorious site in our Catholic city of Dublin, so long will it be impossible for any statesman, be he English or Irish, to deal with this great question on the only ground on which University reform in Ireland can be regarded as satisfactory, or even as entitled to acquiescence,—the open and level ground of full and absolute equality for the Catholics of Ireland.²

from time to time been challenged by some Protestant speakers and writers. But its use unhappily needs no justification.

There is, I am sure, no danger of its being supposed that I could think of applying to every individual in Trinity College, or connected with it, what I thus said of the College itself as an institution.

There have been, especially of recent years, not a few distinguished men, prominently connected with that College, who have honourably declared themselves in favour of the establishment of a system of University education in Ireland, by means of which every advantage that they themselves enjoy through Trinity College and the University of Dublin, should be placed within the reach of their Catholic fellow-countrymen in a College and University, Catholic in the sense in which Trinity College and the University of Dublin are Protestant. (See pages 247-253.)

But no such declaration has ever yet been made by anyone competent to speak on behalf of Trinity College, and undertaking to speak on its behalf. On the contrary, it is but too plain to admit of question, that the prevailing spirit of the place, so far as it has as yet found expression, is a spirit of exclusiveness, sternly adverse to the adoption of any of the schemes that have been devised for the settlement of the Irish University question on the line of real equality.

¹ See pages 4-15, and 18.

² See pages 309-330.

VIII.

PASTORAL LETTER.

(February 26th, 1887.)



PASTORAL LETTER.

(February 26th, 1887.)

[In a Pastoral Letter issued in February, 1887, the Archbishop dealt with the chief grievances of which Irish Catholics have to complain in the matter of Education.

The following is a portion of the Letter referring to University Education.]

In the year 1871, a Pastoral Letter was issued from a meeting of the Bishops of Ireland, at which his Eminence Cardinal Cullen, Archbishop of Dublin, presided.

In that Letter, referring to the department of higher or University Education, the Bishops put forward, in the first place, the claim for a Catholic University.¹ They did so in the words of a former resolution of the Episcopal body, which they reiterated, as follows :—

“As regards higher education, since the Protestants of this country have had a Protestant University with rich endowments for three hundred years, and have it still, the Catholic people of Ireland clearly have a right to a Catholic University.”

But, forestalling an objection which it was foreseen might possibly be made to this proposal, on the ground that it would involve an addition to the existing number of Universities in the country, the Bishops at once proceeded to point out another way in which, without any such inconvenience, if it be an inconvenience, the

An alternative
scheme : a National
University.

¹ See page 48.

essential condition of religious equality could still be secured :—

“Should Her Majesty’s Government be unwilling to increase the number of Universities in this country, religious equality cannot be realized unless the degrees, endowments, and other privileges enjoyed by our fellow-subjects of a different religion, be placed within the reach of Catholics *on terms of perfect equality*. . .

“Should it please Her Majesty’s Government, therefore, to remove the many grievances to which Catholics are subjected by existing University arrangements, and to establish a National University in this kingdom for examining candidates and conferring degrees, the Catholics of Ireland are entitled in justice to demand that in such a University, or annexed to it.

“(a) They shall have one or more Colleges conducted upon purely Catholic principles, and at the same time *fully participating in all the privileges enjoyed by other Colleges* of whatsoever denomination or character.

“(b) That the *University honours and emoluments* be accessible to Catholics *equally* with their fellow-subjects.

“(c) That the examinations and other details of the University arrangement be free from every influence hostile to the religious sentiments of Catholics, and that with this view the Catholic element be adequately represented on the Senate, or other supreme University body, by persons enjoying the confidence of the Catholic Bishops priests, and people of Ireland.”

Finally, in deference, doubtless, to
 Another alternative :
 the University of
 Dublin.
 anticipated that the authorities of Trinity College, Dublin, would receive the suggestion of so great a change in the status of that College as would be involved in the establishment of a National University, the Bishops proceed to suggest a third course, by the adoption of which, without any such comprehensive change, substantial equality could still be secured :—

“All this can, we believe, be attained by modifying the constitution of the University of Dublin, so as to admit the establishment of a second College within it, in every respect equal to Trinity College, and conducted on purely Catholic principles.”

Such were the proposals, most moderate in substance, as well as most definite in form, made upon this subject by the Irish Bishops as far back as 1871. Of those proposals it will be observed that, in so far as they involve any interference with existing non-Catholic institutions, they were not put forward by the Bishops in their direct statement of the Catholic claim. That claim was for the establishment of a distinct Catholic University, in no way complicated in its constitution by a connection with any other University or College in Ireland. In so far as any change in the constitution, or in the position, of any existing College or University is referred to by the Bishops, the reference is introduced only in the suggestion of certain other alternative courses, by the adoption of which the great essential condition of equality might still be attained, in case the Ministry were unwilling, by the establishment of a Catholic University,¹ to make a full concession of the Catholic claim.

During the sixteen years that have elapsed since the publication of this Pastoral Letter of the Irish Bishops, but little progress has been made in this branch of our education question. Something, however, has been done. An Examining Board, authorized to confer University Degrees, —and thus constituting, in the anomalous modern sense of the term,² a “University,”—has been established under the name of the “Royal University of Ireland;” and by means of the examinations that are held by it, the students of our Catholic Colleges are enabled to obtain University prizes and degrees. But the conditions under which our students are thus admitted to the competitive and other examina-

The Royal
University : obvious
inequality.

¹ See page 48.

² See pages 4-15, and 18.

tions of the Royal University are so manifestly wanting in equality,—as regards the position of the students of our unendowed Catholic Colleges, when contrasted with that of their favoured competitors, the students of other Colleges well endowed by the State,¹—that the impossibility of further maintaining a state of things so obviously indefensible, seems no longer to be matter of serious controversy.

That the equitable settlement of this
 How justice may be done. long-standing difficulty of University

Education may be effected in any one of the three ways indicated in the Pastoral Letter of 1871, admits of no room for doubt.² Whether it may be possible also to effect such a settlement of it on other lines, in further development of the modifications since then introduced into our Collegiate and University arrangements, is a question on which it would, as yet, be unprofitable to speculate.

The Bishops, the Clergy, the Catholic people, of Ireland have too deep an interest in the practical settlement of this great question to allow individual preferences for any special form of University organization to stand in the way of any equitable settlement of this question that statesmanship may be able to devise. One condition, and one condition only, is essential: the maintenance of the principle of equality.

¹ See pages 31-33.

² See also pages 239, 241.

IX.

SPEECH AT THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF MEDICINE, DUBLIN.

(February 18th, 1889.)



SPEECH AT THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF MEDICINE, DUBLIN.

(February 18th, 1889.)

[The following passages are quoted from a speech delivered by the Archbishop on the occasion of a visit to the Catholic University School of Medicine, Cecilia-street, Dublin, in February, 1889.

They deal mainly with the success of the School as attested by the official lists of the Royal University examinations in the Faculty of Medicine—an aspect of the case which soon afterwards assumed a special importance from a speech of Mr. Balfour's, in which he dwelt with great emphasis upon the serious disadvantage at which an unendowed Medical School is placed, in view of the exacting requirements of modern scientific teaching.¹

The case of the Queen's Colleges and the amount of public money squandered in the maintenance of them, is also dealt with to some extent.]

The examinations of the Royal University have had at all events this one good result, that they have afforded you, the students of our Catholic University Medical School, an opportunity of proving to the world the excellence of the work that is done here, and of strengthening, if that were possible, the claim, already so strong, of the Catholics of Ireland to the recognition and the aid that have so long been withheld from us. That opportunity you have used with brilliant success.

I have brought with me a tabulated return that is eminently satisfactory in more than one respect. Not merely is it

¹ See pages 200, 201.

a record of a striking success, but the results that it discloses are in their general direction most fully in harmony with those of the Royal University examinations in that other Faculty, in which, as it has somehow happened, the successes of our Catholic University Colleges have hitherto come most prominently under public notice, the Faculty of Arts.¹

The point of similarity to which I specially allude is one that gives special ground for congratulation. It is that whereas our Catholic Colleges, in point of the mere number of their University students, stand, as is but natural, far below the State-endowed University Colleges of Ireland, yet, when we pass from a comparison based upon the mere counting of heads, to the more important test of successes at the University examinations, our Colleges at once begin to come into prominence. Again, and this is still more satisfactory, the more closely we draw our lines, that is to say, the higher we go in the scale of excellence, leaving behind us the test of mere Pass examinations, and even the lower grades of University distinctions,—the higher we ascend in the academic scale, the more exacting the test we apply,—the more and more prominently do the successes of our Catholic Colleges stand out into view, and the more brilliantly do they contrast, in point not merely of relative, but even of absolute, number, with those obtained by the students of their favoured and well-endowed rivals.

Let me mention some few figures. The facts, no doubt, which they record are well known to most of you. But the full significance of those facts scarcely comes out until we have them classified in some such way as I have

¹ As to the successes of our Catholic Colleges in the Faculty of Arts, see page 47, and the pages there referred to in *footnote 1*.

classified them here. I take, then, the three latest Calendars of the Royal University, and I look to the record of the results of the examinations in the Faculty of Medicine. I speak now of the examinations officially known as the First, the Second, and the Third Medical Examinations, and the Examination for the Degree—the Degree of Bachelor of Medicine.

The total number of First-class Honours awarded by the Royal University at these examinations, during the three years in question, was 13. Of these, one went to Queen's College, Galway; two, to Queen's College, Cork; and three to Queen's College, Belfast. What, then, is the record of this Catholic University School of ours? I must say that for my part I should have been well satisfied in this case to find our Medical School standing on a level with the Medical School of any one of the three Queen's Colleges. For we all are aware of the enormous disadvantage at which you are placed in the competition.¹

The public endowment for the Professorships of the Faculty of Medicine in one of those Colleges, Belfast,² is £1,320 a year.

¹ This is the most convenient place to state, once for all, that, throughout this volume, all figures such as those quoted here have been carefully revised.

As regards the amount of public money expended in connection with the work of the Medical Faculty in the Queen's Colleges, I have been obliged to content myself, on some few points, with an approximate statement, owing to the absence of sufficiently detailed information in the official Reports.

In each case in which I have had to do this, I have given in a footnote the most definite information that is available.

² The Professor returned in the President's Report as Professor of "Natural History," is Professor of Zoology, Geology, and Botany. I have taken two-thirds of his salary as representing the payment of a Professor of Zoology and Botany, two subjects of the University Medical course.

I have also, of course, taken into account the salaries of the Professors

In another, Cork,¹ the endowment is £1,380 a year. In Galway,² it is £1,450 a year.

Then, in addition to this, these three Queen's Colleges are well equipped in the matter of laboratories, museums, and medical libraries. From a return that has been supplied to me, I find that, in the one year to which the return refers, 1887-88,—and we may, I assume, take that year as a fair average specimen,—the expenditure for the year, on these special purposes alone, was, in Belfast, £330. In Cork, it was £260. In Galway, it was £340.

In a word, the total public direct endowment for the teaching purposes of the Medical Faculty—to say nothing of the Scholarships provided by the State for the students of that Faculty,³ as for the students of the other Faculties in those Colleges,⁴—amounted for that year, in Belfast,⁵ to £1,650; in Cork to £1,640; and in Galway to £1,790. All this, too, is independent of the outlay, which is always a substantial one, for the repairs and maintenance of the buildings, the whole cost of which is borne by the public, through the Board of Public Works.⁶

of Natural Philosophy and of Modern Languages—these being subjects of examination in the University Medical Course. In these two cases, however, I have included only one-third of the amount of the salary paid to the Professors.

¹ In this case I have followed the same principles as in the case of Belfast.

² I have followed the same principles in this case as in those of Belfast and Cork, except that I have here taken account of only one-half, instead of two-thirds, of the salary of the Professor of "Natural History," this Professor, in the case of Galway, being returned as Professor of Mineralogy as well as of Geology (see page 99, footnote 2.)

³ See page 473.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ For Queen's College, Belfast, the total expenditure on "Library, Laboratory, and Museum" is returned at £993 5s. 2d. In order to keep well within the mark, I have taken only one-third of this, £330, as representing the expenditure on Laboratories and Museums specially connected with the work of the Medical Faculty, and on the Medical section of the College Library.

I have taken a similar estimate, based on the corresponding figures, respectively, in the case of Cork and of Galway.

⁶ See page 276; pages 333-351; and 440-447.

The position of
the Catholic
University
School of
Medicine.

Now, as I have said, I should have been well satisfied if I had found that, in the winning of some share of the 13 First-class Honours awarded at the Medical Examinations of the Royal University, this absolutely unendowed Medical School of ours was able to take its stand on a level with any one of its three competitors, the three Colleges so unfairly favoured by this costly endowment from the State. What, then, is the fact?

Brilliant successes :
First-class
Honours.

The number, remember, of First-class Honours credited to Galway is 1 ; Cork carried off 2 ; Belfast, as usual the first among the three Queen's Colleges, heads their list with 3. Well, how do you stand ? You have beaten every one of them. Your number of First-class Honours in these same examinations is 5 ; and, if we include, as, of course, we should include, the distinctions gained by our Catholic students in that portion of the scientific work of the University Medical course that is done in University College, Stephen's-green,¹ we have beaten the three Queen's Colleges combined. For, our number of First-class Honours won at these examinations is 7, as against their total of 6.

First-class
Exhibitions.

Again, let us take the still higher test, the award of First-class Exhibitions. Of these, the total number awarded by the Royal University at those examinations during the three years was 12. Of that number, 5 were won by the Queen's Colleges, of which, 1 went to Cork, 1 to Galway, and 3 to Belfast. How many then were won by the students of this Medical School of ours ? It may well

indeed seem incredible, but, in this case, you, in this School, single-handed, have held your own, not only against these Colleges, even the best of them, taken singly, but against the three of them taken together. The three Queen's Colleges, with their splendid medical endowment of over £5,000 a year, have succeeded in winning at the Royal University examinations 5 of the First-class Exhibitions. Our one Catholic Medical School, even in its poverty, has carried off, single-handed, as many as the three Queen's Colleges combined. And, if we take into account, as before,¹ that portion of our work which is done at University College, Stephen's-green, our number of First-class Exhibitions is 7, as against the Queen's Colleges' combined total of 5.

With these figures before us, what
 The Queen's
 Colleges, are we to think of a recent article
 on the Irish University Question, in an
 English periodical, in which I find it laid down that
 the question of the Queen's Colleges "cannot be said
 to be pressing"? What view the writer of that article
 may have about the nature of "pressing" questions, I do
 not stop to inquire. But this I must say, that unless the
 resources to be made available for the purposes of Univer-
 sity education in Ireland are practically without limit,
 there is no more pressing question connected with the
 reconstruction of the University system of this country
 than the question of the Queen's Colleges.

¹ See page 101.

X.

LETTER TO *THE TIMES*.

(*March 2nd, 1889.*)



LETTER TO *THE TIMES*.

(*March 2nd*, 1889.)

[One result of the speech last quoted was that a question in reference to the success of the Catholic University School of Medicine was put in the House of Commons, to Mr. Balfour, as Chief Secretary for Ireland, by one of the Irish Members of Parliament.

Unfortunately, the gentleman who undertook thus to bring the matter under the notice of Parliament had taken up the case quite incorrectly, and so, by the form of his question, enabled the Chief Secretary, or rather the officials who supplied the Chief Secretary with the information to be used in his answer, to evade the real strength of the case.

In order to undo, to some extent, the mischief that had been done, the Archbishop addressed the following letter to *The Times*.]

DUBLIN,

March 2nd, 1889.

SIR,

I feel called upon to notice without delay a strange attempt that seems to have been made through the office of the Chief Secretary for Ireland to make little of the very striking success of the students of the Medical School of our Catholic University at the Medical Examinations of the Royal University of Ireland.

The following question was asked yesterday in the House of Commons by Mr.¹ —, M.P. for —.

"Whether the attention of the Chief Secretary for Ireland has been called to the fact that the Queen's Colleges of Belfast, Cork, and Galway, which receive among them a Parliamentary grant of over £5,000 a year for medical teaching . . . were, *at the last examinations of the Royal University of Ireland*, beaten in award of First-class Honours by the Catholic University School of Medicine, and that those Queen's Colleges were again defeated in the higher test of First-class Exhibitions by the Catholic University School of Medicine, which carried off as many Exhibitions as the Queen's Colleges of Belfast, Cork, and Galway, combined; and whether, under those circumstances, he would consider the advisability of recommending a Parliamentary grant to the School of Medicine of the Catholic University."

The answer of the Chief Secretary (I quote from *The Times'* report) was as follows:—

"The reports which I have received in reply to this question suggest that *the result of one examination cannot be taken as a fair test*, and it would further appear from them that each of the institutions between which a comparison is made could establish a fair claim to preeminence if allowed to choose its own test."

I have no doubt that Mr. Balfour accurately represented to the House of Commons the purport of the information supplied to him by the officials on whom, as a necessary result of the present extraordinary system of Irish administration, he is obliged to depend for information in all such cases. But in this instance, as in so many others, he has been very seriously misled. The "reports" with which he has been furnished "suggest," he says, "that the result of *one examination* cannot be taken as a fair test." No doubt Mr. —'s question, which seems to have been drawn up without a very full apprehension of the facts of the case, afforded the officials an opportunity of thus evading its point.

¹ I do not think it necessary to reproduce the name of the M.P. who put this question, or of his constituency. He is not at present in Parliament.

It would manifestly be not only unfair, but ridiculous, to draw any very large inference from the result of "one examination," or even from the results of the examinations of any one year. And the question as put had reference apparently to the examinations of one year only. But the reports furnished to Mr. Balfour by his deputies and informants "suggest" that the striking successes in question *were confined to that year*, and that if another test were taken—the examinations of some other year, or the examinations of a number of years,—the result disclosed by the returns would be very different.

Now this suggestion is directly at variance with the obvious facts of the case—facts, indeed, so obvious that it is impossible to suppose they could escape the notice of any competent official who would take the trouble even to glance through the examination lists as published in the Royal University Calendars of the last few years.

I may here mention that the statement referred to in Mr. —'s question was a statement publicly made by me on the occasion of a visit to the Catholic University Medical School, on the 18th ultimo. In an address delivered on that occasion, I spoke of the satisfactory results of the examinations of our students at the Royal University. As I most distinctly stated, I spoke, not of one examination only, but of *the entire series of examinations* prescribed for all students who wish to obtain a Medical Degree in the University.¹ Those examinations are, for each student, at least three in number. They are known as the "1st Medical," and "2nd Medical" examinations, and the examination for the Degree of M.B.

¹ See page 99.

Again I stated with equal distinctness that I spoke, not of the examinations of one year only, but of *the examinations of the last three years*.

As the examinations of the Royal University in the Faculty of Medicine are held on two occasions in each year, there was question, therefore, of six examinations each year—that is to say, for the three years, *there was question, in all, of eighteen examinations*.

Now the facts to which I called attention regarding these eighteen examinations are as follows :—

Taking, in the first place, the high distinctions technically known as First-class Honours, we find that the total number of these distinctions awarded by the Royal University during those three years was 13. The following is the distribution of these Honours amongst the students of the three Queen's Colleges, and of the two Colleges of the Catholic University from which students presented themselves for examination :—

Queen's College, Belfast	...	...	3
Queen's College, Cork	...	...	2
Queen's College, Galway	...	...	1
Total for Queen's Colleges			6
Catholic University Medical School, and University College, Dublin	...	...	7
Total	...	...	13

Again, taking the still higher test of First-class Exhibitions, we find that the total number awarded by the Royal University at the eighteen examinations

held during the three years was 12. These were distributed as follows:—

Queen's College, Belfast	...	...	3
Queen's College, Cork	...	...	1
Queen's College, Galway	.	...	1
Total, for Queen's Colleges			5
Catholic University Medical School, and University College, Dublin	...		7
Total			12

Now Mr. Balfour's advisers or informants suggest that if some other test were taken, the pre-eminence of the Queen's Colleges would be demonstrated. But what other test, I may ask, could be taken? Mr. Balfour's remark would, no doubt, be applicable if the satisfactory results in question were those of one examination, or of the examination of one year only, and if, on the whole, the results of the examinations of the other recent years pointed in a different direction. But, as the facts stand, it is *the complete record of the last three years* that furnishes the testimony in question.

If, instead of taking, as I did, the results of the three years, I had confined myself, as Mr. —'s question implied, to those of last year only, it would have been impossible for me to institute any comparison or contrast between the successes of the various Colleges at all. For in that year, —I refer to 1887, the last year for the examinations of which the Royal University Calendar has, as yet, been published, —*the successes were all on the side of the Catholic University Colleges.*

The results disclosed by the official returns for that year are as follows:—

FIRST-CLASS HONOURS.

Queen's College, Belfast	...	...	0
Queen's College, Cork	...	...	0
Queen's College, Galway	...	...	0
			—
Total for Queen's Colleges	...	...	0
Catholic University Medical School, and University College, Dublin	...	...	3
			—
Total	...	...	3

FIRST-CLASS EXHIBITIONS.

Queen's College, Belfast	...	...	0
Queen's College, Cork	...	...	0
Queen's College, Galway	...	...	0

Total for Queen's Colleges	...	...	0
Catholic University Medical School, and University College, Dublin	...	...	3

Total	...	...	3

Total, First-class Honours and First- class Exhibitions, Queen's Colleges			0
Total, First-class Honours and First- class Exhibitions, Catholic University			6

Total ¹	...	...	6

I am, Sir,

Your faithful servant,

✠ WILLIAM J. WALSH,

Archbishop of Dublin.

¹I have corrected in this reprint of my letter an obvious error in some of the above figures as at first printed.

XI.

FURTHER LETTER TO *THE TIMES*.

(*March 12th, 1889.*)



FURTHER LETTER TO *THE TIMES*.

(*March 12th*, 1889.)

[Dr. Porter, President of Queen's College, Belfast, having replied to the letter just quoted, a further letter was written by the Archbishop, from which the following passages are here re-printed as having some bearing upon matters of permanent interest.]

DUBLIN, *March 12th*, 1889.

SIR,

The letter published in *The Times* of yesterday from Dr. Porter, the President of Queen's College, Belfast, on the successes scored by our various Irish medical schools at the examinations of the Royal University, shows, I think, that on this subject there is not much room for controversy between him and me.

Dr. Porter's main object in writing to you seems to have been to bring out certain facts which, in the closing paragraph of his letter, he commends to my attention, in the hope that they may possibly "help to convince" me that the Belfast College has been "fairly successful." Now on this point I have never stood in need of being convinced. The learned President is satisfied with modestly claiming for his college that it has been "fairly" successful. I have no difficulty in going a step further. Queen's College,

Belfast, has, in my opinion, been decidedly successful. It gives to the public unquestionably good value for the public endowment by which it is maintained.

But I must add that I fail to see the bearing of all this upon the only point with which I am concerned—the persistent denial of an endowment to the Medical School of our Catholic University in Dublin, the brilliant success of whose students at the examinations of the Royal University¹ is conclusively shown by the same official returns to which Dr. Porter so justly appeals in proof of the success of his own college.

Dr. Porter devotes a considerable portion of his letter to a somewhat severe criticism upon the method in which the Royal University selects its examiners. As regards this point, I can only say that it is one for which Dr. Porter himself, as a very prominent member of the Senate of the Royal University, must, I fear, bear his share of the responsibility.

On the other hand, it certainly in no way concerns me. Indeed, in this matter also, my position is very notably in advance of Dr. Porter's. So strongly was I convinced, five years ago, of the unfairness of the whole system of the Royal University examinations in this respect, that I then resigned my place on the Senate of that anomalous institution, as a protest against the determined refusal of the Senate to take even one small step towards the removal of the basis of that unfairness.²

The proposal, which was rejected by the Senate, was moved by the then Archbishop of Dublin, the late Cardinal MacCabe. I had the honour of seconding his Eminence's proposal. It was rejected by a majority of

¹ See pages 101-110.

² See pages 458-464.

25 votes to 3. I am sorry to have to add that the solitary vote by which the mover and seconder were sustained in the effort to effect a reform was not that of Dr. Porter. It is almost amusing now to find the worthy President endeavouring to make some controversial capital against me out of the continued maintenance of that very system of examination which has been maintained up to the present day by him and his brother Senators, and the maintenance of which in its undiluted unfairness was the sole cause of my withdrawal, and, I may add, of the withdrawal of Cardinal MacCabe, from all share in the responsibility for the future proceedings of the Royal University.¹

Dr. Porter in his letter quotes many figures. Most of them are altogether irrelevant. In his account of the results of the examinations of the Royal University, he starts from the year 1882. My statement, to which he seems anxious to reply, was most distinctly limited to the period beginning with 1885. Heavily and unfairly over-weighted as our Medical School was, it was only in that year that it at all succeeded in making up for what it had necessarily lost at the start.

Dr. Porter pointedly observes that he speaks only of one Queen's College—Queen's College, Belfast. "With the other two Queen's Colleges," he adds, "I am in no way connected."

But one of the worst grievances of the case is, that those two other Queen's Colleges, of which Dr. Porter very wisely, as well as very naturally, declines to become the champion or defender, are, as regards endowments, on quite as good a footing as the one really successful college of the system—Queen's College, Belfast.

¹ See pages 458-464.

Here is the amount¹ of the expenditure in each case :—

Amount of the Expenditure on the Medical Faculties in the three Queen's Colleges, for the Session 1887-8.

Queen's College	Salaries of Professors (exclusive of class fees)	Grants for the Expenses of Laboratories, Museums, &c.	Expenditure on Medical Education in each College
Belfast ..	£1,320 0 0	£330 0 0	£1,650 0 0
Cork ..	1,380 0 0	260 0 0	1,640 0 0
Galway ..	1,450 0 0	340 0 0	1,790 0 0
Total ..	£4,150 0 0	£930 0 0	£5,080 0 0

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

✠ WILLIAM J. WALSH,

Archbishop of Dublin.

¹ See pages 99, 100.

XII.

RESOLUTION OF THE IRISH BISHOPS ON
THE UNIVERSITY QUESTION.

(March 21st, 1889, and June 25th, 1889.)



RESOLUTION OF THE IRISH BISHOPS ON THE UNIVERSITY QUESTION.

(March 21st, 1889, and June 25th, 1889.)

[A series of Resolutions on the Irish Education Question in its three branches, Primary, Intermediate, and University, was drawn up by the Standing Committee of the Irish Bishops on the 21st of March, 1889.

The Resolutions were endorsed by the Episcopal body at its next meeting,¹ on the 25th of June, 1889.

The following is the Resolution in reference to University Education.]

As regards University Education, we renew the oft-repeated protest of the Catholic Bishops, clergy, and people of Ireland against the unfair and oppressive system of higher education, established and maintained in Ireland by State endowments, in the interest of non-Catholics, and to the grave social detriment of Catholics.

Catholics demand equality in University, as well as in Intermediate and Primary, education with their non-Catholic fellow-subjects, so far as those systems are sustained and endowed by the State. They demand that their educational grievances, which have extended over three hundred years, and have been a constant, ever-growing source of bitter discontent, be at length redressed, and they appeal to all sections of Parliament, without distinction of political parties, to legislate promptly and in a just and generous spirit in this all-important matter.

The Committee abstain from formulating the University

¹ See also pages 91-93; 354-357; and 417-424.

system which would best satisfy their demands and wishes : they will merely observe that these would be satisfied substantially—

(a) By the establishment, in an exclusively Catholic,¹ or in a common University,² of one or more Colleges, conducted on purely Catholic principles, and at the same time fully participating in all the privileges and emoluments enjoyed by other Colleges of whatsoever denomination or character ;

(b) By admitting the students of such Catholic Colleges, equally with the students of non-Catholic Colleges, to University honours, prizes, and other advantages ; and,

(c) By securing to Catholics in the Senate, or other supreme University Council, in a common University, an adequate number of representatives enjoying the confidence of the Catholic body.

¹ See pages 47, 48 ; and 91.

² See pages 92, 93.

XIII.

A MINISTERIAL STATEMENT ON THE
UNIVERSITY QUESTION.

(July 15th, 1889.)

A MINISTERIAL STATEMENT ON THE UNIVERSITY QUESTION.

(July 15th, 1889.)

[At the request of the Episcopal Standing Committee, copies of the Resolution quoted in the preceding pages¹ were sent by the Archbishop of Dublin to the leaders of the Ministry and of the Opposition in both Houses of Parliament, and to Mr. Parnell as leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party in the House of Commons.

In the House of Commons, on the 15th of July, 1889, Mr. Parnell asked the First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. W. H. Smith) whether the attention of the Prime Minister and of the Government had been drawn to the claim in the matter of University Education, put forward in the Resolutions, and whether it was the intention of the Government to adopt the measures necessary for the removal of the grievances complained of in those Resolutions.

The question was answered by Mr. Balfour, then Chief Secretary for Ireland. The following report of his answer is taken from the *Freeman's Journal* of the following day.]

The Resolutions of the Standing Committee of the Catholic Bishops of Ireland have, I believe, been forwarded to the Prime Minister and the First Lord of the Treasury. . . The Resolutions deal with many questions, and cover the whole field of education in Ireland. Without giving specific answers to the various points alluded to in them, I may say that some of them, notably higher education, have long been under the consideration of the Government, and in respect to them we hope to be able to make proposals to the House.

¹ See pages 119, 120.

Mr. MORLEY asked the right honourable gentleman to say whether Training Colleges were included in the subject at present occupying the attention of the Government.

THE CHIEF SECRETARY said they had been long considering the question of Training Colleges, and he thought something should be done in regard to them, but he did not put them on the same level of interest as higher education.¹

¹ The grievance complained of in reference to the Training Colleges has, however, been long since removed. For its removal, which was effected in a thoroughly satisfactory manner, we are indebted to Mr. Balfour.

XIV.

A PREVIOUS MINISTERIAL STATEMENT ON
THE UNIVERSITY QUESTION.

(July 28th, 1885.)



A PREVIOUS MINISTERIAL STATEMENT ON THE UNIVERSITY QUESTION.

(*July 28th, 1885.*)

[In connection with Mr. Balfour's words just quoted,¹ it seems useful to insert here the following extracts from an important speech made by Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Leader of the House of Commons, some years before.

The occasion of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach's speech was a motion made by Mr. Justin MacCarthy, during the discussion on the Estimates, to omit the vote in aid of the maintenance of the Queen's Colleges.]

I must own that I have always felt, and that I still feel, a very deep interest in this matter [the Irish University Question]. Honorable gentlemen on both sides of the House have referred to my action with regard to Irish Education² in so kind a spirit, that I think I ought to make some observations on the subject.

I should wish to say, in the first place, that this is not a question which ought to be approached with the idea of concession or conciliation. I should wish to approach it—and I think we should all wish to approach it—with the sole desire of endeavouring to spread as far as possible what I believe to be the great blessings of University Education in Ireland, among all persons.

¹ See page 123.

² Sir Michael Hicks-Beach had taken a specially prominent and active part in the introduction and furtherance of the measures for the establishment of the Irish Intermediate Education Board and of the Royal University.

whatever their creed, and so far as possible whatever their class, if duly qualified to receive it. This is the spirit in which I have always endeavoured to regard this question.

[In what follows, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach referred, of course, only to the Colleges that were then in question—the Queen's Colleges—and to the Queen's University with which they had been connected. But his remarks are no less fully applicable to Trinity College and the University of Dublin.]

I confess I was a little suspicious of their standard. It did occur to me that it might be very possible that in a University *so very close*, so to speak, as the Queen's University was, the standard of a University degree might have been lowered, and that, in fact, the University would be a better instrument of education in Ireland if it were extended to other students, and included other examiners than those connected with the Queen's Colleges. Now, if I am correctly informed . . . my suspicions were not altogether ill-founded.

[Then, after an expression of surprise at the striking results disclosed by the published official lists of the Royal University examinations, in the contrast they show between the successes of the students of the endowed and the unendowed Colleges, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach went on to speak with great candour and explicitness of the duty of the Government in the matter.]

I am not speaking of Belfast College, which undoubtedly held its own;¹ but I refer to the Colleges of Cork and Galway.

¹ "Held its own" is not a very enthusiastically eulogistic form of expression to apply to the well-endowed College of Belfast in a competition with Colleges that are absolutely unendowed (see pages 101-110). And see the latest results, on page 476.

This, to my mind, raises a very important question. . . Is it, or is it not, the fact, that the money this House votes for the purposes of University Education in Ireland is applied in the best manner possible? Now I am bound to say that I feel a difficulty in answering that question. I think it is one that requires the very serious and early attention of Her Majesty's Government.

[A suggestion had been put forward by some members who took part in the discussion, that, as a temporary provision, a sum of £6,000 a year should be voted in aid of the maintenance of the University College¹ in St. Stephen's Green, Dublin. This suggestion was summarily put aside by Sir Michael Hicks-Beach. His words on this point were considered, at the time, full of promise. He dealt with it as follows:—]

We do not feel that the present position [of the question] is satisfactory, and we feel this to such an extent that it would be quite impossible for us to comply with the request of the Hon. Member for Limerick and other Hon. Members, and try to deal with it by giving a vote of £6,000 for a particular purpose.

We could not do that. We think that a full examination of the whole case is necessary, in order to see whether we cannot settle it on a proper basis.

[The Speech closed with the following definite announcement of the Ministerial policy.]

We shall continue to regard this question on the principle I have laid down, with the hope and the wish to do something to make University Education more general and widespread in Ireland, and, if it should be our lot to hold office next Session,² to make some proposal which may deal in a satisfactory way with this most important matter.

¹ See pages 46, 47.

² See page 135.



XV.

A FURTHER MINISTERIAL STATEMENT ON
THE UNIVERSITY QUESTION.

(August 28th, 1889.)



A FURTHER MINISTERIAL STATEMENT ON THE UNIVERSITY QUESTION.

(*August 28th, 1889.*)

[In the course of the debate on the Appropriation Bill, raised by memorable speech of Mr. Sexton, on the 28th of August, 1889, the following further important declaration of policy on the subject of University Education in Ireland was made by Mr. Balfour, as Chief Secretary for Ireland.]

I repeat in the House what I have said outside the House, that in my opinion something ought to be done to give higher University education to the Roman Catholics of Ireland.

I regret—I do not deny that I regret—that the Roman Catholic clergy¹ in Ireland have felt it their duty to discourage men of their religion from taking full advantage of the Queen's Colleges in Galway or Cork, or of Trinity College, Dublin. But regrets are vain things. The Roman Catholic hierarchy have thought it their duty to adopt this policy,² and we have to take the facts as we find them.

The experiment of undenominational higher education has now been tried sufficiently long to make it, I am afraid, perfectly clear that nothing Parliament has hitherto done

¹ It is to be presumed that Mr. Balfour was not aware of the real nature of the authoritative condemnation of the "non-sectarian" system of Collegiate education, on religious grounds, not only by the Irish Bishops, but by the Holy See. See pages 30-33; 153-164; and 401-406.

² See the preceding footnote.

to promote that object will really meet the wants and wishes of the Roman Catholic population of the country. This being so, we have no alternative but to try and devise some new scheme by which the wants of the Catholic population shall be met.

This would not be the proper time for me to suggest, even in outline, the main lines of what the scheme should be¹ but we ought to make some attempt, if possible, to carry out a scheme of the kind I have indicated.

[It is proper here to observe that, in this last sentence, the report in *Hansard*, from which I have quoted, omits an important reference to "the legitimate aspirations of the Roman Catholics," which appeared in the reports of the speech published in the newspapers, the morning after its delivery. It may be useful to reprint the passage as reported in *The Times*.]

He (Mr. Balfour) did not think that it was proper for him on that occasion even to suggest the main lines of what that scheme ought to be; but that they ought, if possible, to carry out such a scheme which would satisfy all the legitimate aspirations of the Roman Catholics, he entertained no doubt.

[Mr. Balfour was followed by Mr. Parnell. Mr. Parnell said :—]

Speaking for myself and the Hon. members from Ireland who sit with me, I have to say that we wish the Chief Secretary well in his attempt to settle the much-vexed question of University Education in Ireland, and we hope that he will succeed to his heart's content.

¹ See pages 202, 203.

But we should be glad to know also whether any immediate steps are contemplated in that direction, and whether the Government proposes to make this important subject one of the earliest Governmental measures next session, or what arrangements are in preparation with regard to the necessary steps to be taken for bringing the matter under the notice of the House.

[Mr. Balfour, it would seem, was absent from the House during this portion of Mr. Parnell's speech. On his return before Mr. Parnell had finished speaking, Mr. Parnell repeated in almost identical terms what he had previously said.]

I desire to repeat what I was obliged to say in the absence of the right hon. gentleman. I am glad to be able to congratulate him on his determination to attempt to deal with this much-vexed question of University Education in Ireland, and I trust he may be most successful in his undertaking.

We are anxious to know whether he proposes to embody his attempt at a solution of this question in a Bill early next Session, or what other steps he intends to take in this matter.

[Mr. Balfour immediately replied as follows to Mr. Parnell's question:—]

With regard to the question put to me by the hon. member for Cork, I have to say there is no possibility of dealing with this question of University Education except under a Bill. Of course, I cannot give any pledge at this moment as to *the exact order* in which the various questions will be dealt with by the Government next Session.



XVI.

SPEECH AT THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF MEDICINE, DUBLIN.

(November 7th, 1889.)

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
PRESS

SPEECH AT THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF MEDICINE, DUBLIN.

(*November 7th, 1889.*)

[The following speech is printed almost in full. It was delivered on the occasion of a visit of the Archbishop to the Catholic University Medical School, the first occasion on which the Archbishop spoke upon the University question after Mr. Balfour's important statement in the House of Commons' on the 28th of August, 1889.

The occasion seemed a suitable one for a full statement of the Catholic case, including the statement of the striking success of the students of the two leading Catholic University Colleges of Ireland, as attested by the Honours and Prizes won by them, in spite of every disadvantage and discouragement, in the open competitive examinations of the Royal University.]

I have had occasion more than once within the past few weeks to speak in public on some one or other of the grievances from which Irish Catholics still have to suffer for conscience' sake. My visit to-day to this Medical School of our Catholic University brings me into contact with another of these grievances—the grievance resulting from the arrangements that are maintained up to the present by the State in this country in the matter of University Education.

I speak of this as a grievance which
For conscience' sake. . . . Irish Catholics have to suffer from for
conscience' sake. I know, of course, it will be denied
by some that this is so. It is likely to be denied

¹ See page 133.

by those who are responsible for the continued maintenance of the grievance. In these days of so-called universal toleration, British statesmen are very naturally unwilling to face so unpleasant a fact. They are very naturally unwilling to have it recognised that the policy they pursue is one that trenches in any way upon the sacred rights of conscience. But no unwillingness to face the facts of a case, no denial of them, can change those facts. What I have said as to this University grievance is true, and indeed so manifestly true that I cannot see what room there is for the denial of it, or even for the calling of it in question.

For, when we say of any grievance imposed upon a Catholic, that it has to be endured by him for conscience' sake, what do we imply? Surely nothing else than this, that it is a grievance that presses upon him because of his Catholicity and because of his fidelity to Catholic principle, the result of some oppressive law which shuts him out from the chance of sharing in some advantage that is placed by the State within the reach of others, an advantage which in this way is open to others and not to him—that is to say, which is not open to him so long as he continues conscientiously to follow the teaching of his Church,—an advantage, moreover, from which there is nothing to exclude him save only the fidelity with which he adheres, as his conscience tells him it is his duty to adhere, to that teaching. With grievances such as I have now described, we in Ireland are but too familiar from a sad experience. We are face to face, undoubtedly, with one of them here, to-day.

Intolerance,
uncloaked and
cloaked.

Not indeed that in this matter of University Education there now are any advantages of a public character from which Catholics, as such, are formally excluded by the

letter of the law. In at least one other department of the public administration of our country, examples even of such uncloaked intolerant exclusion of Catholics are still to be found. But in this matter of University Education, the policy that unfortunately is still dominant in Ireland is more guarded in the form of its operations. Apparently it has not the courage, or it is ashamed, openly to declare itself for what it is. So, even whilst it distinctly puts under a ban fidelity to the teachings and principles of the Catholic Church, it wishes to keep up the false pretence that it does nothing of the kind.

In so far as it makes some outward show of toleration, that policy has improved, no doubt, upon its old practices. Not yet twenty years ago—let me be quite accurate, only sixteen years ago,—down to the August of 1873, it was not ashamed to take a bolder and much more defiant course. Down to that quite recent date, it made no scruple whatever in insisting that if we, the Catholics of Ireland, were so presumptuous as to wish to stand upon a level with our Protestant friends and neighbours in the matter of University Education, we should qualify ourselves for the privilege by first becoming Protestants ourselves; we should make an oath of abjuration, or take the Protestant sacrament,¹ or stand up in some Protestant church or other, and there read our recantation of Popery and all its evil ways. This, in the matter of University Education, was literally true, not merely in that far-off time that is known as the time of the Penal Laws, but down to our own day. It was literally true, here, in this Catholic city of Dublin, down, as I have said, to sixteen years ago.

¹ See page 29.

The abolition of
religious tests
in Trinity College,
Dublin.

The scandal of it was then in some degree hushed up and hidden away out of sight, by the passing of Mr. Fawcett's University Tests Act of 1873, the Act that abolished all religious tests in Trinity College and in the University of Dublin.¹

Since the passing of that Act, Catholics whose ambition may lie in the direction of obtaining even the highest honours of that ancient seat of learning are, it is true, no longer under the necessity of abjuring their faith as the first step towards the attainment of the object of their ambition. Every honour, every emolument, in that College and University is now by law thrown open both to Catholic students and to Catholic professors, as it has also been thrown open to students, if there be any such in Ireland, and to professors, as there unfortunately are, who are of no religion at all.

I am aware that many liberal-minded Protestants, and amongst them some of the most eminent among the heads of Trinity College itself, welcomed that change. I cannot share their view. But I most heartily sympathise with the feeling that inspired it. It must have been a galling thing to any man of spirit in Trinity College to feel that the tenure by which he held some highly-prized academic post of distinction or of emolument had its root in a system of intolerant exclusiveness. It must have been galling to him to feel that his success in the academic struggle in which he had carried off the prize from his college competitors had by anticipation been shorn of more than half its honour by the very terms of the competition in which it was won; that, under the terms of that

¹ See page 43.

competition, the contest could lie only between a favoured few; that every representative of intellect and genius amongst the millions of his Catholic fellow-countrymen was rudely barred out from the arena; and that all this was done, not because there were elsewhere provided for the Catholics of Ireland corresponding prizes and distinctions for which they might compete even amongst themselves, but because it was the policy of the day, out of sheer intolerance, to exclude every Irish Catholic, who could not be bribed into renouncing his faith, from all chance of winning any such prize or distinction in his native land. It must indeed have been a galling thing for any man of spirit, holding high office in Trinity College, to think of these things. No wonder that by many of those within the walls of the College, as by many outside, the change that was wrought in 1873, was hailed with satisfaction.

There seems to have been in the minds of many—a mistaken belief. of many—there certainly was in the minds of some—a belief or expectation that the passing of Mr. Fawcett's Act, and the removal by it of the legal obstacles that until then had barred out the Catholics of Ireland from the path of higher academic promotion, would have opened up to Catholics as effectually as they were open to Protestants, the competitions for the higher prizes and distinctions of the College and University. This was but one of those delusions of which instances so frequently recur in the history of the attempts of well-meaning English legislators, to work out in Ireland their scientifically constructed schemes of political, or educational, or religious, or social, reform.

The Protestants of Ireland had not asked for the secularization of Trinity College. The Catholics of Ireland had

not asked for it. As regards University Education, Irish Protestants had no grievance to be removed. Irish Catholics had indeed a grievance. It was their grievance that Mr. Fawcett, in his strange ignorance of what was really wanted, would seem to have sought to remove by the secularization of Trinity College. Now, not only had the Catholics of Ireland not asked for anything of the kind, but the change then made did not even accord with their wishes.

A gross historical
blunder.

This point, perhaps, is worth dwelling upon for a little. In some Protestant circles there seems just now to be a strange forgetfulness of what occurred when Mr. Fawcett's Bill was being passed in the House of Commons. We sometimes hear the taunt, that, although we are now dissatisfied with all that has been done for us, even to the overturning of the old Protestant constitution of Trinity College, there was a time when this was not so, and when in fact we clamoured so loudly for that change, that it had to be made to appease us. All this is pure fiction. To see that it is so, we need only refer to the volumes of Hansard for 1873.

The secularization of
Trinity College
opposed by Irish
Catholics and their
representatives: Mr.
Mitchell Henry.

The second reading of Mr. Fawcett's Bill was moved by that gentleman on the 21st of April, 1873. Even in the face of the combination of English members of all parties, Conservatives, Whigs, and Radicals, which rendered opposition to Mr. Fawcett's Bill futile—or at least futile except in so far as that opposition was a practical assertion of principle—the Bill met with the united opposition of Irish Catholic opinion in the house.

An amendment, hostile to the second reading, was moved by Mr. Mitchell Henry, then the representative of one of

the largest Catholic constituencies in Ireland, the county of Galway.

Now what did Mr. Henry say of Mr. Fawcett's Bill? He spoke of it as a measure not unworthy of the earlier days of English History, "when either the word of the monarch, or that of an oligarchy governing in his name, imposed his will upon a reluctant people." He said that Parliament, "in a cooler moment, would shrink from enacting laws upon a domestic subject, contrary to the advice of the large majority of the Irish members, and to the remonstrance of the people." He described the Bill as the outcome of the "political pedantry of legislating on abstract theories of right, without taking account of what were scoffingly called sentimental grievances, or studying the characters and the prejudices of nations." Again, he said of it that it was "a measure which, whether it was in itself a right or a wrong one, could have no perceptible effect on Catholic grievances, and was calculated only to blind and deceive the public."

Other
Irish Members.

The amendment was seconded by Mr. Denis Caulfeild Heron.¹ Mr. Heron warned the House of the mischief it was about to do. "It was," he said, "a very serious step to take, to force through the house, and upon the Roman Catholics of Ireland, a measure with which they were discontented." Then the O'Donoghue spoke. He denounced the Bill as "an indirect and unworthy attempt to force upon the people of Ireland a university system against which they had solemnly protested." He was astonished," he said, that Mr. Fawcett "should persevere with the measure in opposition to the wishes of the majority

¹ See page 29.

of the Irish people, for such a course was a direct violation of the principles which ought to govern a member of the Liberal party." Mr. Pim, then member for the city of Dublin, said that the Bill "would relieve Irish Protestants who were not members of the Episcopal Church from the disabilities under which they at present laboured ; but it in no way touched the grievances of Irish Catholics,—on the contrary, it would bring them more prominently into view when the Protestant grievance was redressed." Mr. Synan, the next speaker, also protested against the Bill. He said that he "could not regard it even as a step towards the settlement of the Irish Education question."

Sir John Gray, member for the Catholic city of Kilkenny, "solemnly protested against the Bill." Mr. Butt, member for the Catholic city of Limerick, spoke of the Bill as "a leap in the dark." He said that it was "repudiated" by the Catholics of Ireland, and that if it passed and became operative on any large scale, it would only "create a new hostility, which did not then exist." Mr. Munster, member for Cashel, also opposed the Bill. There was, he said, "nothing granted by it that the Catholics of Ireland would accept." Mr. Redmond, the father of two of the best known of the present body of Irish members, spoke in the same strain. The Bill, he said, was intended "to uphold" that "secular system which the people of Ireland would never accept." "The Catholics," he said, "looked with distrust on what it proposed to do. They could not feel gratified at seeing the old University start upon a secular career. They did not wish to see Trinity College drawn down to the level of the 'Godless Colleges.' The Catholics of Ireland took a pride in its renown, and they feared that its character would be materially altered by the Bill before the House." "If this Bill," he said, "should

become law, and if they persisted in ignoring the feelings and wishes of the people of Ireland, the question would be more seriously considered by them, and they would say that it was evidence to them that they must seek for redress of their grievances in the restoration of their own Parliament, in which Irishmen would have the management of their own affairs."

Here to-day I say nothing as to the
Home Rule. subject touched upon in the concluding words of Mr. Redmond's speech. I trust I shall never be guilty of the impropriety of intruding my views, my convictions, upon that subject at a meeting such as this, assembled for another purpose, and possibly containing some whose views upon general political questions, especially upon the one great political question of the day, are not altogether in accord with mine. I quote what Mr. Redmond said, as I have quoted what was said by every other representative of Irish Catholic opinion who spoke during the debate, as evidence of the ignorance, if, indeed, it be not malice, that now feebly attempts to put upon us the discreditable imputation that it was we, the Catholics of Ireland, who led Parliament into the policy which—in so far as Catholic interests are concerned—has reduced Trinity College to the low level of one of the Queen's Colleges, a policy which, we consequently protest, can in no way be regarded as tending to the satisfaction of our Catholic claim.

The secularization of Trinity College
The casting out of
the evil spirit of
intolerance. did not meet that claim. It left our grievance practically untouched.¹ It cast out indeed from the legal constitution of the College the

¹ See pages 30, 31.

evil spirit of intolerant exclusiveness. But to us, who look upon the matter in the light of Catholic principle, it is by no means clear that, so far as we are concerned, the last state of Trinity College is not worse than the first.

One thing at all events is plain. The change wrought out by Mr. Fawcett's Act of 1873 was not effected without the loss of much that, on its own merits at least, was worth preserving in the constitution of the College. Seeing that so much has had to be sacrificed, we may well ask, What has been gained instead? Have the unsightly barriers that for centuries enclosed so large a space of the arena of the academic contests of the College been effectually removed? Can the honours won there be regarded as the trophies of victories won in a field really open to the Catholics of Ireland? It is perfectly notorious that they are nothing of the kind.

A Parliamentary return obtained a few months ago, by one of our Irish members of Parliament, Mr. Macdonald, one of the members for the Queen's County, shows the numbers of undergraduates, as regards the religious profession of each, on the books of Trinity College, Dublin, on the 21st of December last year. The total number of undergraduates on the college books was practically a thousand, the exact figure was 981. Now amongst these, what was the proportion of Catholics? Was it fifty per cent? Of course not. Forty, thirty, twenty, even ten, per cent? Not even nine, not even eight, not even seven, per cent. The total number of Catholic undergraduates, all told, was but 61—that is, remember, 61 out of 982, making a percentage of only 6·2 on the whole.¹

What Trinity
College has lost
and gained.

The "opening" of
Trinity College
to Catholics.

¹ See page 197.

Overwhelming
evidence of
failure.

Now, what more completely overwhelming evidence could there be of the failure of a policy, the authors of which had sacrificed so much in their venturesome effort at reform? To me it has often been—as I suppose it has been to many of us—a subject of wonder that any body of intelligent men could have hoped for any other result.

A new Queen's
College.

For, as regards the Catholics of Ireland, what was the sum and substance of the change effected by Mr. Fawcett's Act? What else, as regards our position, did that Act effect but the lowering of Trinity College, in so far as an Act of Parliament could in reality lower it, to the footing of a fourth Queen's College? That act of secularization came in simply as a general leveller. It abolished all religious tests in Trinity College. But in the Queen's Colleges, as they had stood from the beginning, there were no tests to be abolished. If the Catholic grievance were one that could be met by the establishment of a system of mixed education, based upon the absence of religious tests, there would have been but little of a grievance awaiting removal in 1873. For fully a quarter of a century before, three Colleges embodying that principle, and liberally endowed by the State, had been in full operation in Ireland. How far had their existence contributed to the solution of the difficulty?

Mr. Gladstone on
University Education
in Ireland.

To answer this question we need quote but one fact. Six months before the passing of Mr. Fawcett's Act, the foremost statesman of the Liberal party, Mr. Gladstone himself, had declared in a memorable phrase, that, as

regards the position of Catholics, the provision then existing for University education in Ireland was "bad," "miserably bad," he "would almost say scandalously bad." This was so, notwithstanding the existence in Ireland of three Queen's Colleges. In truth, the existence of these Colleges, enjoying, as they did, a monopoly of Parliamentary favour in the matter of grants to Ireland for the purposes of University education, was in itself one of the leading features of the grievance. Can we wonder then that nothing but humiliating failure resulted from a proceeding which differed in little more than in name from the transformation of Trinity College into a new Queen's College in Dublin?

Again I quote from Mr. Gladstone. In his short speech in favour of the second reading of Mr. Fawcett's Bill,¹ he took care it should not be supposed that he regarded the Bill as one really opening the University of Dublin to the Catholics of Ireland on terms of equality with Protestants. He said :—

"My opinion is that the entire people of Ireland should have free access to the University of Dublin; and I own for my part, I go a step farther and say that, so far as I can see, it is impossible for them to have free access, if they are to be confined to that teaching, and that mode of passage into the University, which Trinity College affords. There is no doubt that Trinity College is a College of Protestant traditions and Protestant aspects, and Trinity College must long so continue."

And Mr. Gladstone, as has been shown by the whole course of events since then, was perfectly right. I have spoken to you of the small, insignificantly small, number of Catholics who seem willing to take the College as it is. But there is another aspect of the case.

¹ See page 43.

We have all heard of the College
The College Chapel. Chapel. They have Protestant service
there, I suppose every day; at all
events, there is Protestant service there on Sundays.¹
I understand that this service is looked upon as an
academic function.² Do not suppose that I object to
that. On the contrary, I am glad to find that there is still
in the College a solemn daily or weekly public acknow-
ledgment of the duty that men owe to God. I mention
the matter here for another reason. It is on account of the
continuance of this religious service, that, in speaking of
the change made in 1873 as having reduced Trinity College
to the level of one of the Queen's Colleges—a phrase that
not unfrequently is used without qualification—I always
make it a point not to use that phrase without qualifica-
tion. I have always been careful not to say absolutely
and without qualification that Trinity College has been
placed upon that low level. What I do say is that Trinity
College has been placed upon that level, as far as regards
the absence of all provision for the protection of Catholic
interests and of all recognition of our Catholic claims. For
whilst that College service is kept up—and I trust that
those responsible for the management of the College will
never allow it to be discontinued,—it gives a practical refu-
tation of the foolish statement that Catholics who enter
Trinity College find themselves there upon the broad open
platform of religious equality. They find nothing of the
kind.

Let us suppose for a moment that the
A very
different case. whole state of things was reversed; that
the Protestant service was discontinued,
and that, in its stead, Mass was said there every day by a

¹ See page 197.² See pages 287, 288.

priest, one of the Fellows of the College; that High Mass was sung there every Sunday, the principal place in the College Chapel being occupied by the new Provost—let us say, for instance, your Rector here, Dr. Molloy. How all the Synods would storm! With what indignation they would declaim against us if we coolly told them that they had nothing to complain of; that the College, notwithstanding the High Mass and all the rest, was just as it ought to be, just what ought to satisfy them, because after all, there were no “religious tests” in the place; that if they waited on patiently for a century or so, things might take another turn in their favour; and that, in the meantime, if they did not give up their unreasonable clamour, we could not but look upon them as a very disagreeable, noisy, discontented set of people to have to deal with, whom it was simply hopeless for us to try to satisfy, no matter what we did.

Dr. Salmon, the Provost of Trinity College, on “Romanists” and “Romish” errors. We must then, on our side, take into account the fact that, not the Mass, but the Protestant service, is the public official act of worship of Trinity College, and I may add—I add it indeed with considerable regret—we must take into account another fact also. We must take into account that the Protestant clergyman who is the present head of the College, the present Provost, distinguished scholar and courteous gentleman as he is, has seen no impropriety in publishing to the world, even since his elevation to his present responsible and delicate position, a work written, as he says, with the object of bringing “Christians” closer together, in which, however, he has no better name for us than that which he might know to be the offensive name of “Romanists,” and no better name for the doctrines and practices of our Church than that

which he might know to be the offensive name of "Romish." These facts have, indeed, to be taken into account. Bearing them in mind, I cannot without qualification say of Trinity College that it stands quite on the same footing as one of the Queen's Colleges. I adopt that statement, then, only in the sense that I have already explained to you. The statement holds good, so far as Catholic interests, and the absence of all recognition of them, are concerned.

When Trinity College was, in a sense,
The principle of mixed education. secularized in 1873, the position of Catholics in reference to the three Queen's Colleges then existing in Ireland was thoroughly well known. The fundamental principle of the system of education embodied in those Colleges was one that made it impossible to regard them as a provision for University Education, available, in any practical sense, for the Catholics of Ireland. Save in some special and exceptional circumstances, it could not be considered open to Catholics, —I speak now, of course, of Catholics who are sufficiently instructed in the nature of the obligations to which they are subject as Catholics, and who are also conscientiously desirous of fulfilling these obligations,—of such Catholics I say that it could not be considered really open to them to make use of the advantages which the State, through these well-endowed Colleges, placed fully and freely within the reach of the members of every Protestant denomination in Ireland.

The reason of this is obvious. To us, Catholics, it comes as a matter of fixed principle that every such institution, embodying that which is known as the "mixed" system, is, from the nature of that system, a source of danger

to Catholic students, if they frequent it: a source of danger, in the first place, to the vigour, and even to the integrity, of their faith; a source of danger also to their constancy in the full and faithful observance of the practical duties by which they are bound as Catholics. That is what we mean by the expression "dangerous to faith and morals." That is what the Church has always meant by it, as often as she has, under that severe censure, condemned, as places of education for Catholics, institutions such as the Queen's Colleges,¹ whether existing in Ireland or in any other portion of the universal Church.

Dr. Moriarty, Bishop
of Kerry, on
mixed education.

Even if no such condemnation had been issued, common sense would have sufficed to warn us of the danger. Let me quote for you a noteworthy expression of a former venerated member of our Irish Episcopacy—Dr. Moriarty, formerly Bishop of Kerry. In a letter to one of the numerous Commissions that from time to time have sat in Ireland to examine and report upon our public educational institutions, Dr. Moriarty wrote as follows of the official Training College of the Board of National Education in Marlborough-street. His severe strictures upon that College as a place of "mixed" education for our school-teachers, are, as you will observe, applicable in all respects to the case of "mixed" colleges of University education. Dr. Moriarty, in fact, himself remarks that this is so. Here is what he wrote:—

"The condemnation of the Queen's Colleges by the highest authority in the Church necessitated the condemnation of the Training College by the Bishops. The cases are perfectly parallel."

¹ See pages 30-33; and 401-406.

And he then goes on to explain that the case is different from that of a school attended by children who are engaged in learning merely the rudiments of knowledge, such as reading, writing, and arithmetic, especially as they meet at school only for a few hours of the day, and for the rest of their time are under parental control. In their case, he says, "the dangers of the mixed system may be comparatively remote." You will observe he does not say that, even in such a case, these dangers disappear. He says merely that they "may" in such cases be "comparatively" remote. "But," he goes on to say, speaking of Colleges of higher education, in such Colleges—

"there is danger of that suppression of truth, and of that concealment of religious profession and observance, which necessarily lead to religious indifference. *The danger is manifestly greatest for those who believe most.* If Anglicans were associated under such circumstances with Unitarians or Socinians, the necessity of avoiding topics of discussion would bring them down to the lower level. *The shortest rule of faith would become the common denominator.*"

It would, I venture to say, be difficult to meet with a more striking example of one short sentence, in less than a dozen words, summing up and at the same time appropriately illustrating, as this last sentence does, the whole argument of such a question.

In connection with all this matter, "Intrinsically" dangerous. I am bound to add one further observation to guard myself against all danger of being misunderstood. In former days it as, we are told, far from unknown that efforts were deliberately made by men of high influence in Trinity College to undermine the faith of Catholic students there. I must not be understood as making any charge that such things occur there at the present day. I have no reason

to believe that they do. The danger to which I alluded, that danger, the nature of which is so admirably elucidated in the letter of Dr. Moriarty which I have quoted for you, is, as you observe, a danger of quite another kind. It is one that exists altogether independently of any conscious effort at perversion. It is a danger inherent in the very nature of the "mixed" system as worked out amongst youth in such a place of education. And this is what the Catholic Church means when she condemns that system as "intrinsically" dangerous¹ to faith and to fidelity in the fulfilment of Catholic duty.

That system, in fact, is simply out of joint with one of the fundamental principles of the teaching and discipline of the Catholic Church. This, then, is the change that has been brought about in the constitution of Trinity College by the passing of Mr. Fawcett's Act of 1873.

I speak of the College, of course, only as a place of education for Catholics. The Catholics of Ireland—if we could imagine so shameful a capitulation, if we could think even of the possibility of their ever at any future time consenting to lower the flag that they have upheld in honour through strife and storm for so many years, if we could think of them as ever yielding to the temptation that was so often set before them, laying down their arms in dishonourable surrender, and abandoning their claim to a system of University Education of their own—in such a case, no doubt, dishonourable as the surrender might be, they would not find that, to have even the fullest share in the emoluments and other advantages which Trinity College has to offer as aids and encouragements to learning, it would be exacted of them that they should forthwith

¹ See pages 30-33; and 401-406.

renounce their faith. No ; in this there has been a change.¹ But, of necessity, they would find themselves under the influence of a system which, in its bearing upon their religious interests, would be for most of them an influence of deadly peril.

They should begin, remember, by setting at naught the voice of their Church, warning them in her most solemn tones of the danger that was before them. They should disregard that voice. They should disregard it with daring recklessness. And then, deprived for the first time in all their history, by their own act, of that protecting influence which has brought them safely through so many storms in the past, they should face out upon a sea of danger, through perils amidst which few, indeed, amongst them could hope to pass without making shipwreck of their Catholic faith, or of their fidelity to the Catholic standard of moral and religious duty.

The exception that
proves the rule.

I may be told that individuals have passed, not only in safety, but in honourable fidelity to every Catholic principle, through Trinity College and other Colleges of mixed education in the country. Yes. And there were survivors of the charge of the six hundred at Balaklava. And men have passed with their lives through the rapids of Niagara. Does all this tend, even in the remotest degree, to show that there is no danger in such things? Even amidst the most deadly perils, some favoured few, perhaps through some singular protection from the hand of Providence, may pass unharmed. Do not misunderstand me. I do not pronounce upon the case of any individuals. The Church, except in the comparatively rare instances in

¹ See pages 27-30, and page 43.

which she exercises her judicial, as distinct from her legislative, or her general pastoral office, does not pronounce upon individual cases. Catholics who have been educated in Trinity College may or may not be models of practical Catholicity in their subsequent lives. They may or they may not be noted for the regularity with which they attend to their religious duties, receiving the sacraments of the Church, and observing her precepts with exemplary edification,—keeping holy, for instance, the feast days that she has ordered to be kept holy, and observing with fidelity, and in dutiful obedience, the fasts which, for the mortification of sinful nature, she has commanded to be observed. Some indeed of those who have been brought up in the atmosphere of mixed Colleges such as Trinity College, are, it must always be remembered, Catholics of truly exemplary life. The lives of others, of many others, are, it is notorious, the very reverse of exemplary. The dangers through which the practical Catholicity of all has passed, the dangers through which the practical Catholicity of some has passed without harm or stain, have proved fatal to the practical Catholicity of many more amongst them. These are Catholics, no doubt. Their Catholicity has not been abandoned. But, as one might say, its edge has been taken off.

Here I must observe that those who

Cases to be distinguished. enrol themselves as members of one or other of the “mixed” University Colleges of the country, few comparatively as the Catholic students of those Colleges may have been, may be divided into certain groups.

First, there are some—from time to time such cases must arise—in which, when all the circumstances are taken into account, and every element of the case has been carefully

weighed and tested in the judgment of a disinterested and competent adviser, it will be found that the case is one in which but little choice of action remains, and in which, therefore with special precautions, the need for which is suggested by even human prudence, God's grace may be relied upon to ward off all serious danger. But cases of this kind are most exceptional and rare. The greater number of those who, in spite of the warning voice of the Church, enrol themselves as students of places of "mixed" education are, I fear, of a different class.

Of these, there are, first of all, some who, in their ignorance or want of instruction as to Catholic principles, are altogether unaware of the danger to which they expose themselves. Then there are others who are not, indeed, ignorant of the existence of danger, but who are foolishly presumptuous, and in their presumption are foolish enough to think that, though there may be danger for others, there can be none for them. Others, again, there are, who, though fully aware of the danger, even as it affects themselves, set the consideration of some worldly advantage—it may be intellectual, it may be material, it may be social,—above the spiritual interests of their souls. Others, in fine, there may be, simply reckless, unthinking, and, in the lightheartedness of youth, taking no heed of what may happen, as men bent on enjoyment not unfrequently risk the safety of life and limb, heedless of danger, and not even allowing themselves to dwell upon the thought of it, if by any chance that thought should present itself to their minds.

A serious
misconception. Persons outside the Church, in speaking of her action in regard to the question of "mixed" education, show a lamentable ignorance of the state of the case, and of her true attitude

towards it. They sometimes speak as if there was question only of something that is within the range of her discretion to do or not to do, just as it is within the range of her discretion to grant or to withhold a dispensation in any of the laws that she herself has made—just as for instance, to-morrow, if she saw reason to do so, she could suspend the law of abstinence on Friday, or transfer the obligation of that law from Friday to any other day. But in this matter of mixed education she can have no such discretion. What is it that she does? She solemnly warns us of a danger, a danger that has proved fatal to the practical Catholicity of many. Reminding us that those who love the danger shall perish in it, she exhorts us with all her earnestness to shun that danger as one of deadly peril to our souls. She can do no more. She cannot remove the danger. She can but put us on our guard against it.

She can but hang up her beacon lights

Beacon lights. as warnings to those whose best interests she sees may be imperilled. English politicians and public men do not seem to understand these things. We sometimes read of them, going about the country, or speaking in their places in Parliament, and lamenting that the Catholic Church has taken such a stand.

Not long since, I happened to meet with a report of a speech made in some such tone by an eminent public man. He was formerly member of a Ministry; he had been, if I am not mistaken, President of the Board of Trade. How indignant he would have been at the folly of the man, —if we could imagine any man so foolish,—who would remonstrate with him upon the drawbacks that are

imposed on sea voyagers by the number of lighthouses and lightships placed around the coast. Suppose that some one had been foolish enough to complain to him of these things as needless impediments in the way of daring seamanship, and to represent how a voyage might be shortened by a straight run across a bank or shoal, where an ugly-looking lightship is now placed as a warning in the eyes of seamen. Would not the Minister say to him, "My good sir, you mistake the nature of my office. We cannot remove the dangers of the sea. We can but put our captains and seamen upon their guard against them. Instead of obstructing seamanship, we largely promote its best interests by these precautions. And, after all, if you choose to run any risk in the matter, there is nothing to hinder you, so long as you do not expose the lives of others along with your own. Go to sea, then, if you will. Take the shortest cuts that you can find. Run as close to the rocks as you care to do, under the very walls of the lighthouses. Sail over the most treacherous sandbanks. We can but warn you of the danger you are about to run. A very short experience will probably convince you that our warning was not without good reason. You may, no doubt, escape the penalty of your folly. But you are much more likely to rue it. We trust that, if your foolish experiment ends in shipwreck, there may be a lifeboat somewhere about."

All this, in the case of the Board of Trade, would seem most judicious, and indeed most kindly. Why do not men endeavour to apply to the Catholic Church the same principles of judgment which they would insist on having applied to their own affairs? It is useless for statesmen to waste their time in empty regret over the action of the Church in this matter. Her course is unalterable. They

may disregard her line of action. As a consequence of this, they may still further keep up their long-continued refusal to treat the Catholic people of Ireland on the same terms on which they treat our Protestant fellow-countrymen. But whilst they continue to do so, they must be prepared to hear our continued protest against the intolerant policy that persists in maintaining this one-sided system.

Intolerance
scarcely even
thinly veiled.

As I indicated in the beginning of my speech, it is a system of religious intolerance, scarcely even thinly veiled. Our statesmen do not indeed any longer require our Catholic youth to make an abjuration of the Catholic faith. They are satisfied to give every possible advantage of their University system to a Catholic, but always provided that he is a Catholic who, in some way or other, has made up his mind to take a course which, whether it be dangerous or not to him, must be full of danger to Catholics as a rule. Whatever else it may be, this certainly is not a system that fairly recognises the conscientious rights of Catholics. And even indeed as regards individuals, who can deny that it is a policy based upon bribery, a policy to be looked upon by its authors as successful precisely in proportion as the attractions¹ which it has to offer have outweighed in the minds of numbers of Catholics the influence of the voice of their Church? It is not a system of which honourable statesmen should feel anything but ashamed. It is not a system which its authors and defenders can expect us to lose sight of, when they stand forward as the champions of religious toleration, and of that liberty of conscience, regard for which they seem to think that they themselves hold in absolute monopoly.

¹ See page 33.

"Roman Catholics
are affectionately
invited to attend."

I remember on a former occasion—I do not think it was here—illustrating all this matter by a very commonplace example. It is this. If the Secularist view of this matter be a sound one, statesmen need not have been at the trouble to disestablish the Protestant Church in Ireland. They might have told us, as indeed we were told by some, that we had no grievance in the case; that the doors of the Protestant Churches were open to all; that if we went there, in acceptance of the affectionate invitations so frequently addressed to us, we should be received with a most cordial welcome; and that, if we chose to stay away, why, it was our own affair, in no way affecting the case of those endowments, of which we, of our own choice, thought fit not to avail ourselves.

All this would be most reasonable
Conscience. and wise, if there were no such thing
in the world as conscience. Take that one element into account, and see how the case is altered. After long years of conflict, the Catholics of Ireland at length forced them to take it into account in the case of the then Established Church. The principle then at length came to be recognised, that endowments available only on conditions which conscience could not approve were to be considered as not available at all. And from this it was but a short interval to the Disestablishing Act of 1869.

Now, in what way does the case of the public grants to Irish "unsectarian" Colleges stand, in this respect, on a different footing? Is it not manifest that to keep up a monopoly of public endowments in favour of institutions from which the Catholic people of Ireland, as a people,¹ are

¹ See page 153.

warned off by the voice of conscience, is equivalent to leaving the Catholics of Ireland, as a people, without any public educational endowment at all?

A curious plea seems recently to have been set up in favour of leaving things as they are. We are told that a certain large section of our fellow-subjects,—the Nonconformists, as they are generally called,—have some conscientious dislike to denominational colleges, and that therefore no share of the public funds should be applied in grants to such colleges. That view, I believe, is taken by many of our Presbyterian fellow-countrymen in Ireland. They are, as they say, but a small minority of the population. But they very properly claim that this fact should not shut them out from having their views considered in the settlement of a question affecting the interests of all classes in the nation. Undoubtedly it should not. I trust the day may never come in Ireland when the Catholic majority of our people will fail to show the utmost consideration for the rights of even the smallest minorities.

But let us not allow ourselves to become blind to the facts of the case. By all means let the rights of minorities be respected. But what about the rights of the majority? Have our rights no claim to be respected? Our Presbyterian friends entertain some objection to the system of denominational schools and colleges. Well, we object to the system of “mixed” schools and colleges. Is our objection to go for nothing, whilst theirs is to be respected? How ridiculous this question looks when we remember that we number practically four millions

Protection needed
for the majority.

of the population of the country, whilst they number just half a million, so that we outnumber them in the proportion of about 8 to 1.

And we must not allow it to be forgotten that we make no exclusive claim. We do not ask that no colleges should be endowed except such only as are framed on the system that commends itself to us. Why then should our fellow-countrymen of any creed or class be so unreasonable as to ask that no colleges should be endowed except those framed upon the system that commends itself to them?

The elementary
conditions of
the problem.

It would almost seem as if they had not mastered the elementary conditions of the problem to be solved. This question lies between two conflicting systems of education. One of these is satisfactory to them, and is objected to on conscientious grounds by us. The other would be satisfactory to us, and is objected to, apparently on conscientious grounds, by them. Now all that we ask for, and what I may add, we mean to insist upon, is that their system shall have no preference over ours. With them, on the contrary, the question is not a question of preference of one system or the other. They want their system to have the field all to itself. They want to exclude our system altogether. They want, moreover, to force their own system upon us—that is to say, they, the self-constituted champions of liberty of conscience, and the boisterous clamourers for the protection of minorities, come forward with the cool proposition that whilst they, the minority, are to have everything their own way, we, the majority, are not only not to have anything our way, but are on the contrary, to bear our share of the cost of paying for the maintenance of their system; of paying, too, for

the machinery that is to be made use of in forcing it upon ourselves ; and all this in favour of a system that is utterly at variance with Catholic principles,' a system to which, as Catholics, we are strenuously opposed on conscientious grounds.

Equality. The time has come to put this matter plainly. Between these two systems of education, as in all other respects where rights of conscience are in question, we must have equality.

Levelling down. Equality can be reached in either of two ways—levelling up, or levelling down. In this matter I, for my part, do not care which way is chosen. The proposal, indeed, is hardly a practical one, but, if there be any general desire in the country in favour of it, let it be tried—let everything be levelled down. In other words, let the public endowments be withdrawn from Trinity College, Dublin, and the public grants from the three Queen's Colleges. If that were done, we should all, no doubt, stand upon a common level. But who will be found to propose it? All I say about it is, that if such a plan were carried out, it is not we, the Catholics of Ireland, that would have most reason to look forward with apprehension to its results.

Levelling up. I assume, however, that, as no such policy has ever yet been dreamt of, no such policy ever will be dreamt of, by any sane public man. What then is the alternative? I can see but one ; equality, to be attained by levelling up.

I freely, of course, admit that in any system of State-endowed Colleges for University education in a mixed

¹ See pages 30-33 ; 153-164 ; and 401-406.

country, no religious body can be looked upon as entitled to have its claims individually recognised unless it can give satisfactory evidence of two things. It must show that it has, on the one hand, a sufficient number of its members qualified for University education, and that, on the other hand, it has the means of turning to good account whatever share of the public funds it may fairly claim to have allotted for its individual purposes. On both points, as is now recognised with practical unanimity, our ground is secure. As for both, we have only to look to the examination lists of the Royal University.

I have taken the trouble to analyze
The Honour Lists of the Royal University in the Faculty of Arts. with some care the lists for the various years since 1885. That, as you know, was the first year in which our Catholic Colleges were in working order for the various examinations in the Faculty of Arts, up to and including the examination for the degree of B.A. And, once for all, let me note, that, as is necessary for the fairness of the comparison, I take account only of male students.¹

Instructive figures. Now what do we find? I take the lists, first of Honourmen, and then of Exhibitioners, and I compare the results attained, on the one hand, by the students of the two Queen's Colleges of Cork and Galway, and, on the other hand, by the students of the two leading Colleges at the Catholic side—I mean, of course, University College in Stephen's Green and University College, Blackrock.²

¹ Except where the contrary is stated, these remarks apply to all the statements of results throughout this volume.

² See page 46.

You will observe that, in every case, the result of our examination of these lists is to confirm a statement which I recollect having made to you on the occasion of my last visit to this school.¹ I then remarked that whereas our Catholic Colleges generally stand, as is but natural, in point of the mere number of our University students, far below the State-endowed University Colleges of the country, yet when we pass from the test furnished by the mere counting of heads, to the more reputable test of success at the University examinations, our Colleges at once begin to come into prominence. I added, as something still more satisfactory, that the more closely we draw the lines, that is to say, the higher we go in the scale of excellence, leaving behind us the test of mere Pass Examinations, and even of the lower grades of University Honours, and confining our attention to the higher grades—to the lists of First-class Honours, or instance, and the lists of First-class Exhibitions,—the higher we ascend in the academic scale, the more exacting the test we apply, the more and more prominently do the successes of our Catholic Colleges stand out into view, and the more brilliantly do they contrast, in point not merely of relative, but even of absolute, numbers with those obtained by the students of their favoured and well-endowed rivals. Now, let us apply all this to the lists before us.

The Royal University Honour Lists in the Faculty of Arts.

The results are as follows:—The number of Honours gained during the five years by the students of Queen's College, Cork, was 62. In the case of Galway, the corresponding number was 48, making, for these two Queen's

¹ See page 98.

Colleges combined, a total of 110. Now as to the Catholic side. We find, in the first place, that one of our Colleges, Blackrock, has carried off 118 Honours; that is, 8 more than the two Queen's Colleges of Cork and Galway combined. Then our University College in Stephen's-green has the still higher score of 158 Honours; making for these two representative Catholic Colleges a total of 276 Honours, as against a total of 110 from the two Queen's Colleges, taken together, of Cork and Galway.¹

So far we have dealt with the number of Honours. Let us now proceed to apply the still more exacting test of the number of Exhibitions won by the students of those four Colleges respectively. Here are

¹ I think it useful in this reprint of my speech to set forth in tabular form the results of the various Examinations:—

Number of Honours and Exhibitions gained by Students of the Catholic University Colleges of Stephen's-green, Dublin, and Blackrock, and by Students of the Queen's Colleges of Cork and Galway, at the Examinations of the Royal University in the Faculty of Arts, up to, and including, the Examination for the B.A. Degree, in the five years from 1884-5 to 1888-9, inclusive.

COLLEGES	Honours	Exhibitions	Total, Honours and Exhibitions
CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY COLLEGES:—			
Stephen's-green, Dublin	158	44	202
Blackrock	118	37	155
Total, two Cath. Univ. Colleges ..	276	81	357
QUEEN'S COLLEGES:			
Cork	62	21	83
Galway	48	11	59
Total, two Queen's Colleges ..	110	32	142

N.B.—For the results brought down to date, see page 470.

the figures.¹ The number of Exhibitions won during the five years by the students of the Cork Queen's College is 21. The corresponding number in the case of Queen's College, Galway, is 11. The total for these two Colleges is 32. Turning now to the Catholic side, we find that the Blackrock figure is 37; that is to say, 5 more than the total for the two Queen's Colleges. Then University College, Stephen's-green, has 44 Exhibitions to its credit, making for these two Catholic Colleges a total of 81, as against the combined total of only 32 for the two Queen's Colleges of Cork and Galway.

A still higher test is that furnished by the lists of First-class Honours. Of these, the number awarded during the five years, to students of the four Colleges we are dealing with, was 111. They are distributed as follows²:—

Cork had 18 First-class Honours, and Galway 10,

¹ See the tabulated statement at foot of page 169.

² *Number of First-class Honours gained by Students of the Catholic University Colleges of Stephen's-green, Dublin, and Blackrock, and by Students of the Queen's Colleges of Cork and Galway, at the Examinations of the Royal University in the Faculty of Arts, up to, and including, the Examination for the B. A. Degree, in the five years from 1884-5 to 1888-9, inclusive.*

COLLEGES						First-class Honours
CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY COLLEGES :—						
Stephen's-green, Dublin	..	..	..	..	..	44
Blackrock	..	..	..	..	..	39
Total, two Catholic University Colleges	..	..	..	..	..	83
QUEEN'S COLLEGES :—						
Cork	..	..	..	..	..	18
Galway	..	..	..	..	..	10
Total, two Queen's Colleges	..	..	..	..	..	28

N.B.—For the results brought down to date, see page 471.

making the total for these two Queen's Colleges, 28. But, at our side, Blackrock has 39 First-class Honours to its credit, and University College, Stephen's Green, has 44—bringing our total up to 83, as against their total of 28.

The First-class
exhibitions.

It now only remains to apply the highest test of all—that furnished by the awards of First-class Exhibitions.¹

Of these, the number awarded during those five years to the students of these four Colleges was 39. How were they distributed? In this case, the combined total for the two Queen's Colleges is 8. Ours is 31—not far short of four times theirs. For, whilst Cork has only 5 First-class Exhibitions to its credit, and Galway only 3, Blackrock has 14, and University College, Stephen's Green, has 17; that is to say, that one College of ours has over twice as many First-class Exhibitions as the two Queen's Colleges of Cork and Galway combined.

¹ *Number of First-class Exhibitions gained by Students of the Catholic University Colleges of Stephen's-green, Dublin, and Blackrock, and by Students of the Queen's Colleges of Cork and Galway, at the Examinations of the Royal University in the Faculty of Arts, up to, and including, the Examination for the B.A. Degree, in the five years from 1884-5 to 1888-9, inclusive.*

COLLEGES						First-class Exhibitions
CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY COLLEGES:—						
Stephen's-green, Dublin	..	..	..	..	..	17
Blackrock	..	..	..	..	..	14
Total, two Catholic University Colleges						31
QUEEN'S COLLEGES:—						
Cork	..	..	..	..	..	5
Galway	..	..	..	..	..	3
Total, two Queen's Colleges						8

An impressive
contrast.

What a marvellously impressive series of contrasts do not all these figures present, especially when it is borne in mind—as of course it never should be forgotten in estimating their significance—that the two Catholic Colleges which stand out so clearly as victors from first to last are absolutely unendowed; one of them, the University College in Stephen's-green, receiving merely certain sums in payment of the salaries of some of its professors,¹ whilst the other, Blackrock, receives no aid or recognition of any kind whatever from any public source. On the other hand, the two Queen's Colleges of which I have been speaking, the Colleges of Cork and Galway, are endowed by an annual grant of Parliament amounting to £10,000 each, making about £20,000 a year to the two, or a total of £100,000 for the last five years—those very years for which the melancholy record that I have now put before you is disclosed by the Royal University Lists.

The Examination
Lists in the
Faculty of Medicine.

I now at length come to the lists in which you in this School are most closely interested. In your address you refer with commendable pride, but at the same time with commendable modesty, to the successes you have achieved.² It is right, I think, that I should set these forth in detail. It is, in fact, necessary for me to do so, as I mean to

¹ See pages 44, 45.

² The address read by the Rector at the opening of the proceedings contained the following passage:—

"Our general standard has been very high, as is evidenced by the large proportion of our students who have been successful in passing their examinations—a proportion much above the average. Moreover, since your Grace last visited the School, in the spring of this year, some of our students have gained notable successes."

take this opportunity of making it quite clear that some statements of mine in reference to these successes, made here on the occasion of my last visit,¹ are in no way open to criticism that has been directed against them.

I take the opportunity especially of making it plain that they are in no way open to the criticism that has been directed against them by the Presidents of the Queen's Colleges of Belfast and Galway.²

Successes of the
Catholic University
Medical School.

You may remember that, on the occasion of my last visit, I spoke here at some length of the marvellous success of our School as attested by the Royal University examination lists. I told you that, for my part, I should have been well satisfied if I had found that we stood upon a level with the Medical School of any one of the three Queen's Colleges. For, as every one is aware, we are in many respects at an enormous disadvantage in the competition. We here are struggling along, bravely, no doubt, but under the enormous disadvantage of not receiving one penny of public endowment. On the other hand, our Queen's College rivals are, I may say without any fear of contradiction, at all events substantially endowed.

Startling figures
and facts.

I have with me some figures which I then quoted on this point. It can do no harm to make them public once more. The public endowment for the professorships of the Faculty of Medicine in one of those Colleges, Belfast, is

¹ See page 97.

² Amongst the Queen's College officials there were few abler or more energetic champions of the maintenance of the monopoly enjoyed by those institutions than Dr. W. K. Sullivan, the late President of Queen's College, Cork. But, on this as on some similar occasions, Dr. Sullivan wisely abstained from following the example of his less prudent colleagues in undertaking the defence of a manifestly untenable position.

£1,320 a year. In another, Cork, it is £1,380. In the third, Galway, it is £1,450. Then, in addition to this, these three Colleges are splendidly equipped in the matter of laboratories, museums, and medical libraries. In the year 1887-88—and we may, I assume, take that year as a fair average specimen—the expenditure for the year for these purposes alone was, in Belfast, £330. In Cork it was £260. In Galway it was £340. In a word, the total public direct endowment for the teaching purposes of the Medical Faculty¹—to say nothing of the prizes specially set apart by the State for the students of that Faculty,²—amounted for that year, in Belfast, to £1,650; in Cork, to £1,640; and in Galway, to £1,790, making in all, £5,080. All this is independent of the outlay for the repairs and maintenance of the buildings, the cost of which is borne by the public, through the office of the Board of Public Works.³

Having in this way called attention to the singularly unequal terms of competition, I went on to state what the actual results of the competition, so far, had been. As I explained, I took the whole series of the Medical examinations of the Royal University, that is to say, the examinations known respectively as the First Medical Examination, the Second Medical Examination, the Third Medical Examination, and the examination for the Degree of M.B. Moreover I went back to the year 1885, the first year in which our School, as a school, was in working order for all the grades of the University Medical Examinations. I took, then, into account all the Medical examinations in the three years that had elapsed since the beginning. These examinations were 20 in all.

¹ See page 116. ² See page 473. ³ See page 276; and pages 333-351.

Now, in those three years, the number of
A signal triumph. First-class Honours awarded by the Royal
University at its medical examinations was

13. How were these distributed? Galway carried off only 1; Cork, only 2; Belfast, as a matter of course, first amongst the Queen's Colleges, headed their list with 3. What, then, of this Medical Faculty of ours? It had beaten every one of them—our number was 7. So far, for the test furnished by the list of First-class Honours.¹

Next came the application of the still higher test, the highest test indeed of all, that of the First-class Exhibitions. Of these, the total number awarded by the Royal University at its Medical Examinations since 1885 was 12. Out of this total, 5 were won by Queen's College students—of which, 3 went to Belfast, only 1 to Galway, and only 1 to Cork. How many, then, were won by our students? In this case again, we held our own, not only against the three Queen's Colleges taken singly, but against the three of them taken together. The three Queen's

¹ *Number of First-class Honours and First-class Exhibitions gained by Students of the Catholic University Medical School and of University College, Dublin, and by Students of the three Queen's Colleges, at the First Medical, Second Medical, Third Medical, and M.B. Examinations of the Royal University, in the three years 1884-5, 1885-6, and 1886-7.*

COLLEGES	First-class Honours.	First-class Exhibitions.	Total First-class Honours and First-class Exhibitions.
Catholic University School of Medicine and University College, Dublin ..	7	7	14
Queen's College, Belfast	3	3	6
" " Cork	2	1	3
" " Galway	1	1	2

Colleges, with their splendid medical endowment of over £5,000 a year, won simply 5 First-class Exhibitions. Our Medical Faculty, even in its poverty, carried off 7; that is to say, 2 more than the three Queen's Colleges combined.

It may perhaps be useful also to repeat here to-day some other facts, which I stated on the occasion of my former visit, in illustration of the shameful squandering of public money, obstinately voted by Parliament, year after year, in the maintenance of the Queen's Colleges. I took the case of the Galway College and of its Medical Faculty. I illustrated my meaning by the statement of the following almost ludicrous facts.

Shameful
squandering of
public money.

The yearly public grant for the maintenance of that Faculty amounts to £1,790. The total number of its medical students in the session of 1887-88 was only 40; the largest number of students attending any class in the faculty was but 34. This was in Anatomy and Physiology; and the salary of the professor of that class, exclusive of his class fees, was £220—that is to say, nearly £7 for each student in the class. In Chemistry the salary of the professor—paid, remember, out of the public taxes—is £300 a year, and the number of students was only 25. Here the rate is exactly £12 for each student. But there is much worse than this. In Medicine the number of students was only 8, whilst the professor receives from the public a salary of £150 a year. In Surgery the professor's salary is £150, and the number of students was only 7. In Midwifery, whilst the salary, as in the other cases, is £150, the class consisted of one solitary student.

Within a very few days after my visit
 The late President
 of Belfast College, here, I was called to account for all this,
 Dr. Porter. almost simultaneously, by the Presidents
 of two of the Queen's Colleges, Belfast and Galway Of
 Dr. Porter, the President of Queen's College, Belfast, I
 must content myself with saying that, in a letter to
The Times, I replied to a letter of his which had appeared
 in that newspaper.¹ The discussion, which would not, I
 trust, have been anything but a friendly one, then came to
 an abrupt close. For, within a very few days, to the heavy
 loss of the important and successful College of which he
 was the President, Dr. Porter's useful labours in the cause
 of education in Ulster were cut short by his untimely
 death. I am debarred, then, from referring in any
 argumentative way to Dr. Porter's letter.

But there was one point most unaccount-
 The *Lancet*
 challenged. ably brought up in the course of our
 incomplete discussion, which I am very
 glad to find myself in a position not to let drop.

Just before Dr. Porter's death, our correspondence was
 noticed at some length by *The Lancet*. To a certain
 extent, that well-known medical journal made Dr. Porter's
 cause its own. It described his answer to my statement
 as a "very efficient answer." Here is what it says:—

"The Archbishop has tried to show that the Queen's Colleges of
 Belfast, Cork, and Galway, which receive among them £5,000 a year
 for medical teaching, have been beaten in the award of first-class
 Honours and of first-class Exhibitions, by the Catholic University
 School of Medicine."

You observe the expression, that I "tried" to show this.
 Then *The Lancet* continues:—

"The Archbishop avers"—

Again you will observe the form of expression. The

writer is dealing with a statement of facts put forward by me, in no way contradicted or called in question by Dr. Porter, yet he speaks of it in this curious way :—

“The Archbishop avers, that, taking a period of three years, out of 13 Honours, 6 went to the Queen's Colleges and 7 to the Catholic University Medical School and University College ; and that, of the 12 first-class Exhibitions awarded by the Royal University, 5 went to the Queen's Colleges, and 7 to the Catholic University Medical School and University College.”

To all this “averment” of mine, *The Lancet* certifies that Dr. Porter gave “a very efficient answer.” He took, it seems, “a larger period into the purview.” He did not pick out merely the years that might serve some particular purpose. He went back to the beginning, “to the foundation of the Royal University in 1882,” and he showed that, since that year, Belfast students had won, I do not know how many first-class and second-class Honours and Exhibitions ; the inference, of course, being that our poor Catholic University students were nowhere in the competition.

Now, as I have already said, I am debarred from saying one word about Dr. Porter, and the fairness or unfairness of his adopting such a line of argument as this in reply to me. I have to deal only with *The Lancet*, which has endorsed that reply, certifying to its “efficiency.” As you all know very well, the reply is the very opposite of efficient.

I trust *The Lancet* will be good enough not to overlook what I am saying now. In my letter to *The Times*, I distinctly explained why I did not go back to 1882, but began with 1885. As I do not wish to introduce one particle of new matter into this discussion—and I trust that *The Lancet*, having taken the question up, will not drop it until

it has been thoroughly discussed and sifted from beginning to end¹—I shall merely quote my former statement on the point. Writing to *The Times*, I had pointed out that—

“My statement was distinctly limited to the period beginning with 1885. Heavily and unfairly overweighted as our School was, it was only in that year that it at all succeeded in making up the ground it had necessarily lost at the start. So far as any statements of mine, then, are concerned, there can be question only of the examination of 1885, and of the subsequent years.”²

What could be plainer? And yet, after all this, *The Lancet* takes it upon itself to declare that “a very efficient answer” to my statement of the marvellous success of our School since it came effectively into competition in 1885, is made out by going back to 1882, and swelling the number of Queen’s College successes by packing the record with numbers of successes attained by Queen’s College students when, so far as our School of Medicine was concerned, they had the field to themselves!

Belfast
v.
Cork and Galway. Parading the successes of the Belfast students in those earlier years may be “a very efficient answer” to those who attempt, as I certainly do not attempt, to justify the present distribution of Queen’s College grants, in which either Cork or Galway is at least as well endowed as Belfast.³ But instead of its being “a very efficient answer” to anything that I have said, I take leave to say that it is nothing but a very clumsy evasion of the point of our case. So far for *The Lancet*, in its capacity—if I may use the phrase—of controversial executor to the late respected President of Queen’s College, Belfast.

¹ *The Lancet*, however, so far as I have ever been able to ascertain, did not attempt a rejoinder.

² See page 114.

³ See page 115.

Dr. Moffat,
President of
Queen's College,
Galway.

As I told you, my statement was challenged also from another quarter—Galway. The President of the Queen's College there, Dr. Moffatt, took substantially the same line as his colleague of Belfast. He, too, went back to 1882. But from his letter it would seem that Belfast was nowhere! He paraded with singular minuteness of detail the fact,—quite irrelevant, of course, so far as we here are concerned,—that a Galway man was first on the list in 1882, another Galway man first in 1883, another in 1884, and another, at all events amongst the first, in 1885. Yes, up to the very point at which our School came effectively into the competition! What place Queen's College, Galway, has held in the lists of First-class Honours and First-class Exhibitions since then we all know.¹ That really is the only question to be dealt with.

Ministerial
promises.

I feel that I ought not to conclude without making some reference to another topic. You may perhaps feel somewhat surprised that I have not as yet spoken upon it. It is the important subject, referred to briefly, indeed very briefly, in the closing words of your address to me.

[The reference here is to the following passage in an address that was presented to the Archbishop at the opening of the proceedings :—

“We inaugurate the present session under hopeful circumstances, and we believe that a bright future lies in store for Catholic education in this country.”

This passage referred to the announcement of the policy of the Ministry, made by the Chief Secretary, at the close of the Session, a little more than two months before.²]

¹ See page 108.

² See page 133.

I have indeed abstained from referring to it. Once on a former occasion, I allowed myself to be misled by delusive hopes. Speaking so far back as 1885, either here or in some other of the Schools of our Catholic University,¹ I stated my belief that we then were on the eve of a satisfactory settlement of the University question. I gave my reason for that belief. I quoted, as I was gladly able to quote, from a speech delivered in the House of Commons, the encouraging words of a leading member of the Ministry of the day, spoken by him as the official representative of the Ministry and Leader of the House of Commons. They are words that should not now be lost sight of. The speaker was Sir Michael Hicks-Beach.

Speaking in Parliament on the Irish University question, on the 28th of June, 1885, he said :—

“ I should wish to say, in the first place, that I do not think this is a question which ought to be approached in the idea of concession or conciliation. I should wish to approach it with the sole idea and desire of endeavouring to spread as far as possible what I believe to be the great blessing of University education in Ireland, among all persons, whatever their creed, and, as far as possible, whatever their class, if duly qualified to receive it. If it be our lot to be in authority next year, I hope that we shall be able to advance some proposal which will be a satisfactory settlement of this most important question.”

“ A satisfactory settlement of this most important question !” We know what has happened since. That was in 1885. We are now in 1889. And the question still stands over for settlement ! Recently a new statement has been made,²—there is some confusion about the precise terms of it,—as to something that is to be done in 1890, or possibly in some other future year. I cannot see what

¹ See page 65.

See page 133.

there is in this new statement, more definite or more encouraging as to the hope of its fulfilment, than there was in the statement made in 1885 by Sir Michael Hicks-Beach. That statesman has been in office for the greater part of the time since then. Yet nothing whatever has been done. He was not only in office—he was Chief Secretary for Ireland. I am bound, indeed, in justice to him, to add, that if he had been Chief Secretary until now, his words, I feel convinced, would have long since been made good. But, taking facts as they are, I find those words confronting me with the warning not again to be so easily misled into over-confident anticipations of the speedy removal of our grievances. It is not for me to say whether the new statement that has recently been made is likely to be as lightly put aside, or to be as unfruitful in results, as the old one has been. It seems to me now of much greater moment that I should add some words as to another point.

Reflecting upon this University question

Magna Charta: a few days ago, I somehow came to think a solemn assurance.

of the words of that solemn pledge that^t has come down to us from the early days of the English monarchy, in the great Charter of English freedom:—
 “To no man shall we deny justice: to no man shall we delay justice: to no man shall we sell justice.” In this matter of University Education, justice was long denied to the Catholics of Ireland. Then came a period when the justice of our claims seemed indeed to be admitted, but the practical recognition of them was delayed. In these failures to do justice we had no part. They occurred in spite of us. We could but press our claim.

¹ See a remarkable statement from Mr. Balfour himself to the same effect, page 194

We could not enforce it. But as to the third part of that solemn pledge, it depends upon ourselves to secure that it at all events shall not be broken. Justice was long denied us. It has long been delayed. But, take my assurance, it never shall be sold.

It takes two to make a bargain. I do not indeed wish to insult the Ministry of the day by ascribing to them the foolish project which has been ascribed to them by some. Insinuations have been made upon this subject. It is humiliating to have to speak of such things, but, as these insinuations have been made—and they have been made from quarters from which such things should not have come—it is forced upon me to notice them. I do not, as I have said, insult the Ministry by ascribing to them the folly of supposing that by any concession of justice which they could make to us, they could hope to detach the influence and the sympathy of the Irish Episcopacy from that side on the great public questions of the day in Ireland, on which that influence and that sympathy have up to this been unitedly and unflinchingly exercised. I do not think of ascribing to them, or to any Ministry, such utter folly. But however this may be—speaking now, not only for myself, but also, as I know I am justified in speaking, for my brethren of the Episcopacy of Ireland—I give you this assurance, that, whilst we claim justice, we shall never stoop to purchase it, and least of all could we ever harbour the thought of purchasing it at the sacrifice, or even at the risk, of the rights of the Irish tenants or of the Irish nation.



XVII.

CONSERVATIVE JOURNAL ON THE IRISH
UNIVERSITY QUESTION IN 1889.

(*November 8th, 1889.*)



A CONSERVATIVE JOURNAL ON THE IRISH UNIVERSITY QUESTION IN 1889.

(November 8th, 1889.)

[The following extracts are from an article published in *The Dublin Evening Mail* of the 8th of November, 1889.

They are quoted here, mainly to illustrate the notable advance made in our University question since 1885, when that question was regarded by this important organ of Protestant opinion as "amicably settled" to the satisfaction of everyone concerned.¹]

*The Dublin
Evening Mail* in
a complimentary
mood.

The effect of Archbishop Walsh's address delivered yesterday at the Cecilia-street School of Medicine, will, we fear, be impaired by its great length. It fills ten columns of small print in this morning's *Freeman*—a quantity of matter that cannot be digested in the time at the disposal of the vast majority of ordinary newspaper readers. In an handy little volume, the address would be carefully perused by all who take any real interest in the Irish University question. They would find or make time for its perusal. But this is what the newspaper reader cannot do. He will, perhaps, put aside the Archbishop's address, with the intention of reading it during his next leisure hours, and when those hours arrive he will have forgotten where he stowed away the paper, or, perhaps, will have forgotten its existence. As we think the document a really valuable one, we would suggest that

¹ See page 61.

it be republished in a book or pamphlet form, and, if so, the opportunity might be taken of abating its diffuseness.¹

Mixed
Education.

The subject of the address is Mixed Education, its evils and dangers to the Roman Catholic student, and the irremovable objections to it held by the Bishops of that Church. The Archbishop's arguments on this subject are conclusive. . . .

The Nonconformist
argument.

The argument that weighs most with Nonconformists, English as well as Irish, is, that public funds to which all denominations contribute should not be expended on the teaching that is exclusive to one denomination. Archbishop Walsh's reply to this argument is as follows:—

"Our Presbyterian friends entertain some objection to the system of denominational schools and colleges. Well, we object to the system of "mixed" schools and colleges. Is our objection to go for nothing, whilst theirs is to be respected? How ridiculous this question looks when we remember that we number practically four millions of the population, whilst they number just half a million, so that we outnumber them in the proportion of about eight to one.

"And we must not allow it to be forgotten that we make no exclusive claim. We do not ask that no colleges should be endowed except those only that are constructed on the system that commends itself to us. Why then should our fellow-countrymen of any creed or class be so unreasonable as to ask that no colleges should be endowed except those framed upon a system that commends itself to them?"²

Candid admissions.

We do not see how any fair-minded man can evade the force of this reply. In Ireland, all religious denominations are now on a

¹ This has now been done in the preceding pages, in so far as it was possible to do it whilst preserving the original form of the speech, and without omitting any point of permanent importance.

² See pages 164, 165.

footing of equality before the law. The religious opinions of all are alike entitled to respect. And we must say that the opinions held on mixed education by the Roman Catholic Church are the natural and necessary consequences of the whole system of Roman Catholic doctrine . . .

A Catholic
University.

The Archbishop, we think, is perfectly triumphant in his assault on mixed education . . . There seems no resource left but a Catholic University, pure and simple, with such Catholic Colleges as may be required to prepare its examinees.



XVIII.

MR. BALFOUR'S SPEECH AT PARTICK.

(December 2nd, 1889.



MR. BALFOUR'S SPEECH AT PARTICK.

(*December 2nd, 1889.*)

[Mr. Balfour's declaration of policy in the House of Commons, on the 28th of August, 1889, in reference to the Irish Education question,¹ gave rise to a storm of excited hostile criticism. Some few prominent members of the Irish Nationalist party openly avowed their opposition to denominational University Education, and denounced the project on its merits. Some others showed a manifest delight at finding Mr. Balfour apparently about to take in hand a difficult work of statesmanship, in which Ministry after Ministry had failed, and failure in which had proved fatal to one of the most powerful Ministries of modern times.² But it was from Scotland that the stormiest and most formidable opposition came. Within a few weeks, all Presbyterian Scotland was up in arms against the policy newly avowed by the Chief Secretary.

On the 2nd of December, in the midst of the excitement, Mr. Balfour was entertained at a banquet by the Unionists of Partick, a suburban district of Glasgow. He dexterously made use of the opportunity thus afforded him to make a somewhat full statement of his views upon the Irish University Question. At the same time he extricated himself from the political difficulty in which he found himself involved. For he frankly proclaimed that he was not prepared, for the sake of doing justice to Ireland, to fall out with his Scottish friends. He would do nothing in the case unless several conditions were fulfilled, one of these being that he should have security beforehand that the public opinion of Scotland, in addition to the public opinion of England and of Ireland, was in favour of what he proposed.

The business portion of his speech naturally divides itself into two sections. In the first, he smoothed away all difficulty with his audience by laying down the conditions on which alone he would move in the matter. He then went on to explain, more or less in detail, the line that he would follow if his conditions were fulfilled, and the length to which in that case he was prepared to go.

In so far as we can leave out of account the air of unreality given to the scheme by the "conditions precedent" which Mr. Balfour so definitely

¹ See page 133.

² See page 42.

formulated on this occasion, the delivery of this speech must be regarded as one of the most notable incidents that has as yet marked the progress of our University Question.]

In the first portion of his speech, Mr. Balfour, referring to his speech in the House of Commons on the 28th of the preceding August,¹ introduced the statement of his three conditions as follows :—

In what I said on that occasion, with regard to the higher education of Roman Catholics in Ireland, there was nothing, so far as I know, which has not frequently been said by a long series of statesmen who have had the affairs of Ireland under their consideration. I believe Lord Mayo² said something of the same kind: I know that Mr. Gladstone³ did, and that a large part of his policy during one Session turned upon it. The late Sir Stafford Northcote said the same thing; and Sir Michael Hicks-Beach,—who was my predecessor in office, and who is now, I am glad to say, my colleague in the Cabinet,—when he was leader of the House of Commons in the short Session of 1885, gave the House of Commons his opinion upon this question⁴ in terms even more explicit and far more developed than any which I, so far as I am aware, have ever used upon this difficult and thorny question.⁵ Therefore I never suspected that anything I could say, following this long catena of authorities drawn from both sides in politics, would excite the interest which it certainly has done.

¹ See page 133.

² See page 38.

³ See pages 149, 150..

⁴ See page 127.

⁵ All this is unquestionably true. (See page 182.) But, if the remark be not out of place, I would observe that the truth of it furnishes a strange commentary upon that fundamental maxim of Unionist statesmanship, that Irishmen may look with confidence to the Imperial Parliament for the removal of every real Irish grievance.

Now let me say, before going further, that I am clearly of opinion that upon this question of Catholic, of higher Catholic education in Ireland, it is absolutely impossible that anything could be done except with general consent.

There are three conditions which I lay
Three "absolutely
necessary
conditions." down as being absolutely necessary to be fulfilled before anything effective can be done in the direction which my predecessors indicated, and in which I have attempted to follow them.

The first condition is, that what we propose to those desiring higher education in Ireland should be cordially accepted by them as a solution of their difficulties. The second condition is, that the proposal of measures of that description in Parliament should not be used by any party in Parliament as a means of inflicting a political blow upon their adversaries. And the third condition is, that the general opinion of Englishmen, of Scotchmen, and of Irishmen, should all concur in desiring that this particular boon should be granted to the Roman Catholic population of Ireland. And unless these conditions are fulfilled, I, for one, would never counsel my colleagues to embark in so difficult and so arduous an enterprise as that of dealing with the education question.

Now I know that in touching this
An explicit
assurance. matter,—nobody knows better than I do, —that I am dealing with a very thorny question ; but I hope that the statement I have made in the most explicit terms which I can command, will at all events do something to assure those who watch with suspicion and apprehension the suggestion of any measure of the kind, that, at all events, their opinions and their views will not be rudely violated by any action of this or any Government of which I should be a member.

[After some further remarks in reference to his three conditions, Mr. Balfour proceeded to explain to his Scottish audience that "undenominational" education, in any sense in which they would think of using the epithet, is all but unknown in Ireland. This led on to a statement, which it is important to transcribe, in reference to Trinity College, Dublin, and Queen's College, Belfast.]

Consider the position of the two most successful educational establishments in Ireland at this moment, Trinity College, Dublin, and Queen's College, Belfast.

Trinity College, Dublin, is, and has long been, the glory of Irish letters. It has

long been identified with the intellectual efforts of the greatest Irishmen in every field of literature, of science, and of art, and it still keeps up in all great branches of learning the traditions which for many years, for many centuries, it has inherited.

Some sixteen years ago, Trinity College was thrown open to all the world by the abolition of tests.¹ Even before that time, and certainly since that time, Trinity College has offered to every man in Ireland, whatever were his religious convictions,² an education which will compare favourably with any which can be given in the higher walks of learning in any country in Europe. But at the same time it cannot be denied, and I for one will not affect to regret it, that, if not by its constitution, at all events by its composition, Trinity College is now what it has always been,

"A Protestant institution."

¹ See page 44.

² But see pages 30-33; 153-164; and 401-406.

a Protestant institution by its religious flavour and complexion, if I may use such phrases.

I believe that not 7 per cent of the students are Roman Catholics.¹ Every Sunday, in the College Chapel, services of the late Established Church of Ireland are worthily celebrated,² and the theological chairs, which have done great service—if I might venture to pass a judgment upon such matters,—which have done great service in the advancement of sound and learned religion, are filled, necessarily filled, by members of the late Established Church of Ireland.³

Now I do not say that an establishment like that is sectarian. But I do say that you cannot ignore the fact, when you are considering the condition of education in Ireland, that the whole current of thought in such an institution is, and must be, antagonistic to the current of thought which would be acceptable to the large majority of the Irish people.

Queen's College, Belfast. I now turn from that great institution—of which I can only say that I hope it may for ever continue upon the path which it has so splendidly followed ever since its first establishment,—I turn from it to the case of the Queen's College, Belfast.

Now what are the facts about the Queen's College, Belfast, which is certainly the second among the great educational institutions of Ireland? In Belfast College there are 422 students. Of that number, 11, and 11 only, are Roman Catholic.

¹ See page 148.

² See page 152.

³ *Ibid.*

It is an interesting fact, a fact which I
 “An interesting
 fact.” see no reason for concealing, that when a
 vacancy occurred in the presidency of
 Queen's College, Belfast, the General Assembly of the
 Presbyterian Church of Ireland, or a Committee of that
 Assembly, wrote to me officially, and stated that as the
 large majority of the students of Belfast College were
 Presbyterians, and as a large number of the Presbyterian
 clergy in Ireland were educated there, they hoped that I
 would put a Presbyterian minister at its head. I thought,
 and I still think, that request a perfectly legitimate one,
 and accordingly the Irish Government recommended to her
 Majesty the appointment of a Presbyterian minister last
 year to be the head of Queen's College, Belfast. Now I
 state that, as showing that if higher education in Ireland be
 described in any sense as undenominational at this moment
 it is not the kind of undenominationalism which ignores
 the existence of various denominations.

[Mr. Balfour next proceeded to explain what it was that
 he desired to do in the matter of University education in
 Ireland.]

Mr. Balfour's
 motive. I have been accused of the most extra-
 ordinary and of the most opposite crimes
 in connection with this matter. I have
 been told that I desire to buy the Irish people.¹ I
 had no intention of carrying out any such commercia
 transaction. I have been told . . . that my object
 in making this speech at the end of this Session,
 was to draw off public attention from the Special
 Commission² . . . I have been told, further, that my object

¹ See page 183.

² The “Parnell” Special Commission.

is to upset the Protestant Constitution of these realms, and to increase the power of a religion and a hierarchy, to which we in this room do not belong, and with many of whose actions we probably have but very little sympathy. Ladies and gentlemen, I have to confess to the prosaic, and perhaps humiliating fact, that, when I suggested that something should be done for the higher education of Roman Catholics, my object was to give them a higher education, and nothing else.

Now is that an object which we ought
Many endowed Colleges, and few Catholic students. to aim at, if it be possible, or is it not?
I find there are at this moment four Colleges in Ireland enjoying public endowments. There is Trinity College, Dublin, of which I have already spoken, and there are the three Queen's Colleges of Belfast, Galway, and Cork. The Roman Catholic population of Ireland, I suppose, is about four-fifths of the whole population. They are the poorest, as well as the most numerous, part of the Irish population. Yet I find that only one in seven of the existing students of these endowed Colleges belong to the Roman Catholic religion; and I find, as I have already said, that the number at Trinity College is only about 6 per cent of the whole,¹ and that actually at this moment in Ireland there are enjoying the advantages of a higher education in endowed Colleges less than 250 individuals, in all, who are of the Roman Catholic religion.

Now, I say that that state of things—
“Not a creditable state of things.” whoever's fault it is, whether it be the fault of the educational system, or the fault of the Roman Catholic hierarchy,² or the fault of the Roman Catholic students,—at all events is not a

¹ See page 148.

² See page 133, footnote 1; and pages 30-33; 153-164; and 401-406.

creditable state of things, and I, who am one of those who are desirous of seeing higher education promoted in every part of her Majesty's dominions, cannot look at that with equanimity.

What Irish
Catholics have
done.

Recollect this. The Roman Catholics may be—for my own part, I think they are,—much mistaken in not making a better use of the advantages already offered to them;¹ but at all events they have shown that their objection to the present system is not a passing objection, but one which is likely to be permanent, and that it is one for which they are prepared to make great sacrifices. Because, though they are, as I have told you, the poorest part of the community, yet, rather than be educated at those endowed Colleges of which I have spoken, they have themselves started, and are now working with very considerable profit to the higher education of their communion, more than one College in Dublin and its neighbourhood.²

Recollect that in these days University education cannot be made the cheap thing it used to be many years ago. There was a time when all that you required to constitute a University was a water-tight roof, a certain number of teachers, a certain number of students, a few benches, and some blackboards. But all that has been changed by the advance of medical and scientific training. I speak in the presence of one of the greatest authorities³ upon this question, and I think he will bear me out in saying that we in England and Scotland and in Ireland are far behind some of our continental brethren in our public recognition of the fact that in order to teach science and medicine

¹ See page 133, *footnote 1*; and pages 30-33; 153-164; and 401-406.

² See the pages referred to in *footnote 1*, page 47.

³ Sir William Thomson (now Lord Kelvin), who presided at the banquet

properly, you require a most costly equipment. That costly equipment I do not believe will be provided, or can be provided, by the Roman Catholic population of Ireland, and my desire is to help them to provide it, and not to help them only, but to help, for example, Queen's College, Belfast.

More money
wanted for Belfast.

I had a letter the other day from the head of that College. He pointed out to me, and pointed out to me truly, that, good as the work was which they were doing, they required more public help before they could effectively carry out all the work which they are capable of doing. I had to reply to him that I was most anxious to do something for Belfast and the great Presbyterian interests which are involved in Belfast, but that it was absolutely impossible for me with decency to go to the House of Commons, and say, "I want three or four thousand a year more for the Presbyterians in Queen's College, Belfast," unless I accompany that with some proposal to meet the even greater necessities of the Roman Catholic population in the rest of Ireland."¹

What Mr. Balfour
desired.

My object is not to bribe the Irish people. My object is not to get votes, to get the transient support of this or that member of Parliament, who, I know, will trip me up at the first moment a suitable opportunity occurs. My object is not to conciliate the opinion of the Catholic hierarchy, who are moved by principles which I do not accept. My object is the simpler one, and the more direct one, of affording to Irish Roman Catholics some of the education which we in Scotland enjoy in so full a measure, and

¹ See, however, pages 333-351.

which I would be glad to see extended to them. I desire to see them taught philology, philosophy, history, science, medicine. I fail to see how in teaching them, instructing them, in these great branches of knowledge, I am likely to advance the interests of any particular Church; and, least of all, the Church to which they belong.

It is not our business to inquire how
A sound principle. far the undoubtedly conscientious objections of the Roman Catholic population to use the means of education at their disposal are wise or unwise. That is not our business.¹ What we have to do is to consider what we can do consistently with our conscience to meet their wants.

My own view—and I wish to deal
Mr. Balfour's perfectly frankly both with you and with
programme: three points. them—my own view is that we cannot
with public advantage found a Roman Catholic University,² and I think so because I am of opinion that it would be fatal to the cause of higher education in Ireland, if the Catholics and Protestants were not brought into competition in obtaining the degrees and honours of University training. If you did not bring them into competition, you might find that either the Protestant or the Catholic standard was lowered to meet the temporary interests of their clients, and the cause of good education would suffer.

The second thing, I think, we cannot give, is any State endowment of theological teaching. . . .

The third condition which I think ought to be laid down before any College of the kind I suggest is founded, is that there should be what I believe is called in other departments a conscience clause, or, at all events, some provision

¹ See pages 72, 73.

² See pages 47, 48; and 91-93.

by which any man attending the College, who did not share the religious tenets of the governing body should not be compelled to attend either theological lectures or theological services.

But, subject to these three conditions,¹ my opinion is that we ought to give them a well-equipped College, a College thoroughly well equipped for all modern purposes of higher education, in which they could learn, as I said before, Latin, Greek, mathematics, science, medicine, and law.

Grave
questions. I would ask every man who considers this question . . . whether he does not think that those great places of Protestant learning—not exclusively Protestant, but mainly Protestant,—Trinity College, Dublin, and Queen's College, Belfast, will not be strengthened, will not in the case of Trinity College be greatly strengthened, and in the case of Queen's College, Belfast, be greatly improved, by any such a plan as I have ventured to suggest.

I would further ask whether we are not acting a most unwise part if we give any colour to the belief that a large part of Her Majesty's subjects in Ireland may claim from our hands the greatest of all boons—the boon of increased knowledge—and that this boon shall be refused to them by our prejudices acting upon the Houses of Parliament.

¹ See pages 217-226.



XIX.

SPEECH AT BLACKROCK COLLEGE.

(December 5th, 1889.)



SPEECH AT BLACKROCK COLLEGE.

(December 5th, 1889.)

[The speech from which the principal passages are here reproduced was delivered on the occasion of a visit of the Archbishop to Blackrock College, in December, 1889. Mr. Balfour's speech at Partick having been delivered only a few days before, the Archbishop devoted the greater portion of his speech at Blackrock to a discussion of the University question, as affected by the Chief Secretary's important statement.]

Not long since, I had occasion to speak on our University Question elsewhere.¹ But, short as the time has been since then,—it is only four weeks ago,—more than one event of importance has occurred in reference to it.² As the result of all that has occurred, we may, I think, look upon the question as now occupying a position well in front of any in which it has stood at any previous time.

When speaking on the University Question this day four weeks, I laid stress especially on four propositions. It may not be altogether superfluous to repeat them now.

The first was that, as matters stand, there is in full operation in Ireland an "Intrinsically dangerous to faith and morals." oppressive system, in which the rights of conscience of Irish Catholics are not

¹ See page 139.

² Some of the matters referred to were of merely passing importance, and the portions of the speech referring to these are not republished in this volume.

merely ignored, but are trampled under foot. For here, in Catholic Ireland, the State maintains by its public grants and endowments a number of Colleges embodying a system of University Education, which, so far as Catholics are concerned, has long since been condemned by the supreme teaching authority of the Catholic Church as dangerous, intrinsically dangerous, to faith and morals,¹—a system to the maintenance of which out of the public taxes we are forced to contribute, but against which, as Catholics, if we are, in the full sense of the word, practical Catholics, we revolt and protest. That is my first and fundamental statement.

Then comes the second. Whilst, on the one hand, we are forced by the law to contribute to the support of a system of education so emphatically condemned by the Church, there is, on the other hand, an absolute denial of State endowment to any College or place of University Education, which Catholics, save in some rare and exceptional circumstances,² can enter as students without an open disregard of the solemn warning contained in the censure I have just quoted. This state of things amounts to a direct incentive, a direct bribe, to Catholics to disregard the voice of their Church, and to act in open opposition to the stern warnings of their own consciences.

Throughout, as you will observe, I do not speak of individuals. There are particular cases that may be affected by the rare and exceptional circumstances of

¹ See pages 30-33; 153-164; and 401-406.

² See pages 157-162.

which I have spoken. I speak of the Catholics of Ireland as a body. We stand nearly as four to one in the population of this country. If we stood but as one to four, we should have a right to demand the abolition of a system so manifestly adverse to every principle of respect for the rights of conscience amongst our people.

Then comes my third proposition. It is, that for this state of things there are but two possible remedies, or forms of remedy: the one, levelling-up, the other, levelling-down.

There are in operation in Ireland two systems of education. One of these, the "non-sectarian" system, "non-sectarian" system, is objected to, on conscientious grounds, by us. It seems to be preferred to any other system by some of our fellow-countrymen. But they are not asked to certify to the sincerity of their preference for it by the sound test of having to put their hands in their pockets to maintain it for themselves.¹ It is maintained for them by the State, that is to say, the cost of it is thrown upon the taxpayers of the country, including the four millions of Catholics, by the supreme authority of whose Church that system has been condemned, and condemned on grounds which, if the rights of conscience were really respected in this country, would be regarded as a conclusive reason for not forcing Catholics to contribute to its maintenance.

Then, on the other hand, there is the system known as "denominational," represented, for instance, by this College of yours. This system is altogether in accord with our conscientious convictions, but, in the department of University education, it is denied all aid from the State.

¹ See page 212.

The denominational system, no doubt, is
Conflicting views. objected to by certain sections of our
fellow-countrymen. But between the cir-
cumstances in which they object to the denominational
system, and those in which we object to the "mixed"
system, there is a difference of vital importance. We do
not object to the "mixed" system being maintained for
those who want it. What we object to is the state of
things in which that system is maintained, not only for
those who want it, but for us, who not merely do not want
it, but reject it on conscientious grounds. We object to a
state of things in which that system is maintained in
absolute monopoly, so that we are forced either to submit
to its exactions, and go against our consciences in
submitting to them, or to seek to struggle on, as best
we can, without the help of a University endowment
at all.

We ask for no unfair advantage. We ask only to
be relieved from the pressure of a system in which our
rights of conscience are not merely ignored, but trampled
upon. We do not want to have a denominational system
forced upon anyone. We ask it only for ourselves.

If our Presbyterian fellow-countrymen say, as they seem
to say, that they object even to this, what else can be
done but to make a clean sweep of all endowments
in favour of either of the conflicting systems? If the
objection of others is to stand in the way of our getting a
system which we can conscientiously accept, surely there
must be some respect shown to our objection to the main-
tenance—the maintenance in monopoly, and at our
expense,—of a system of which we conscientiously
disapprove.

*The Dublin
Evening Mail.*

Someone has told me that this is a new way of putting our case. I do not know whether it is new or not. I am satisfied it is the proper way of putting the case. And I am glad to find that this way of putting it has obtained the assent even of some of those whom, without offence, I may describe as naturally hostile critics. Here is what *The Dublin Evening Mail* said of it on the day after I last spoke upon this question at our Catholic University Medical School.¹ Having quoted my way of putting the case, *The Mail* honestly confesses its inability to find a flaw in it, and candidly says—

“We do not see how any fairminded man can evade the force of this reply. In Ireland all religious denominations are now on a footing of equality before the law. The religious opinions of all are alike entitled to respect. The Archbishop, we think, is perfectly triumphant in his attack upon mixed education.”

My third proposition, then, is, that, in this matter, as in all others where rights of conscience are in question, we must have equality, and that equality can be reached only in one of two ways—levelling up, or levelling down. That was my third proposition.

Now, my fourth was this, that levelling
Levelling down. down is not a practical policy, so that
nothing practically remains but levelling
up. I wish to repeat what I said before, that, for my
part personally, I do not care which way they choose.

The plan known as “levelling down” is not indeed one that is likely to find favour in any quarter. But if there is any general desire in favour of it, by all means let it be tried. Let everything be levelled down. Let the two systems, the “mixed” and the “denominational,”—the

¹ See page 187.

one to which we object, and the one to which others object,—be started in a fair and open competition, without a penny of endowment at either side. That would be one way of reaching equality.

If the Ministry wished to adopt this plan, we, the Catholics of Ireland, should be prepared unhesitatingly to accept it. But I should say that if any statesman were to propose it, our Presbyterian friends would rapidly come to the conclusion that he was fit rather for a place in Bedlam than for a place in the council room of the Cabinet. They do not want levelling down. And they are right. As far as education goes, “levelling down” would simply kill them off, and kill them off as speedily as the emptying of a reservoir brings to an ignominious end the myriads of inhabitants that gaily disport themselves in its waters. I can think of no apter comparison than that. Mixed education set on foot in this country in an unendowed college would simply be in the proverbially hopeless condition of a fish out of water. Mixed education in Ireland lives on endowments. Without endowments to sustain it, not a vestige of it would be found at work in Ireland within twelve months.

Our Presbyterian friends, then, we may assume, will not be so foolish as to take the alternative of levelling down. Nothing then remains but levelling up—that is to say, the establishment of a system in which a College, or more than one College, of University education, organized on the denominational system which we can conscientiously accept, should be liberally endowed, in view of our numbers and of our needs, as the numerous Colleges organized on the

“mixed” system are now endowed by the State, although those Colleges are practically closed by the voice of conscience against all but a small minority of Irishmen.¹

This, then, is my fourth proposition. As we have a right to equality, and as equality cannot be reached except by levelling up or by levelling down, and as no one in the country would think of favouring the levelling down policy, or no statesmen would think of proposing it, nothing practically remains but levelling up, in the sense which I have just now explained. That is our whole case.

Within the last few days, an event has occurred of very great importance in connection with our University Question. A speech upon the subject has been delivered by a Cabinet Minister, our present Chief Secretary, Mr. Balfour.² Now I think you know that there is no one in this country more openly opposed to Mr. Balfour’s Irish policy than I am. But this speech of his is undoubtedly an important one, and it has attracted so much public notice and is now so fresh in the public mind, that, if, in speaking upon the Education Question here this evening, I were to omit dealing with it, the omission, I have no doubt, would give rise to some serious, and possibly embarrassing, comment.

A satisfactory declaration. Totally and uncompromisingly opposed as I am to the general Irish policy of Mr. Balfour, I am free to say that there is one point in his speech which I cannot but regard as eminently satisfactory. I mean the plain open declaration he has

¹ See pages 30-33; 153-164; and 401-406. ² See page 193.

made that what he aims at doing has nothing in it of the nature of barter or of bargain, actual or prospective.

"I have been told [he says] that I desire to buy the Irish people. I had no intention of carrying out any such commercial transaction. . . . My object is not to bribe the Irish people. My object is not to get votes, to get the transient support of this or that member of Parliament, who I know will trip me up on the first opportunity that occurs,—my object is not to conciliate the opinions of the Catholic hierarchy, who are moved by principles I do not accept. My object is a simpler one—to afford to Irish Roman Catholics some of the education which we in Scotland enjoy in so full a measure, and which I would be glad to see extended to them."¹

That open declaration, I must say, is
 Baseless
 insinuations, to my mind altogether satisfactory. The aspect of the case to which it refers is a painful, an exceedingly painful, one. When I last spoke upon this subject in public, I made a very plain reference to it.² I was bound, I felt, to refer to it; and I did not attempt to conceal that I deplored the necessity that had been put upon me to do so.

If in this matter there was anything in the nature of a barter or unworthy compromise of any interest, the only conceivable parties to the transaction, at one side of it, should be the Irish Bishops. The insinuations that were thrown out in this matter, if they had any point or meaning at all, pointed at us. I deny the right of any man to make such a charge against us. I take the charge as aimed especially against myself. For I think I can safely say that if there is any one Bishop in Ireland who, more than any other, has to bear the
 The Archbishop's
 responsibility, responsibility of having constantly kept pressing this University question to a forward place amongst the questions to be dealt with in

¹ See page 201.

² See pages 182, 183.

the removal of our Irish grievances, I have to bear that responsibility. And I know of no more honourable responsibility that I could be called upon to bear.

But, apart from all personal aspects of the case, it passes the limits of my comprehension to understand how any rational man, knowing anything of the state of Ireland, could, even in a moment of wild speculation, bring round his intellect to the belief that any barter, either of the cause of the Irish tenants, or of the National cause of Ireland, could by any possibility be made over this University question. I have already referred to the fact that when I last spoke in public on this question, I expressed my belief that no such foolish project entered into the speculations of the Ministry. One English statesman had, I was told, some such foolish notions on the subject

some years ago. All English statesmen
English statesmen
growing wiser. are wiser now. But now for the first time,
at least for the first time within my knowledge, we have an open public declaration that no sort of barter or bargain is thought of at their side, as assuredly no proposal of barter or of bargain would be entertained at ours. To me at least, this seems to mark a thoroughly satisfactory stage in the progress of the case. The question seems now to be fully and fairly open for consideration on the merits of any Ministerial project that may be brought forward ; and this being so, I can see no reason why something satisfactory should not be done in the matter even at an early date in the coming session of Parliament.¹

Mr. Balfour's
proposals.

Now, as to the particular line of reform that is indicated in Mr. Balfour's speech. It is stated substantially in three

¹ See page 135.

propositions. Of these, the first is that the institution to be set up is not to be a University,¹ but a College; but the College is to be a "well-equipped," a "thoroughly well-equipped" one,—equipped, that is to say, in the sense of being provided with every requisite for the work of the various faculties of a modern University, including that of the faculties of medicine and of law.² Mr. Balfour's second proposition is that no State endowment is to be given for theological teaching.³ Thirdly, he lays down that there should be introduced into the constitution of this new University College the provision known as a "conscience clause,"—that is to say, a provision securing that non-Catholic students who might happen to attend the College for the purposes of secular instruction should not be put under any compulsion to attend either Catholic theological lectures or religious services of the Catholic Church.⁴

A wise ecclesiastical rule.

Now, I dare say that as I happen to be the first of the Irish bishops to deal with this question since the delivery of that notable speech, there will be some curiosity to know what I may have to say upon the question whether this proposal,—this singularly definite proposal, as I am entitled to describe it,—ought to be accepted or not.

I regret to have to say that, up to a certain point, I am not in a position, at all events fully, to gratify that very natural desire for information. For it is a wise provision of the ecclesiastical legislation of the Irish Church, laid down more than once in earlier statutes, but definitively adopted as a leading feature of our permanent ecclesiastical legislation at the National Synod of Maynooth,

¹ See page 202.

² *Ibid.*

³ See pages 202, 203.

⁴ See page 203.

fourteen years ago, that on such a point as this, no individual Bishop should assume the responsibility of pronouncing in favour of the acceptance of any proposal made by a Ministry, until the matter has been taken into consideration by the Bishops generally, and declared by them worthy of acceptance. But this at all events I have

The Archbishop's
views.

no difficulty in saying—for, from repeated acts of our episcopal body, it is clear that no practical difference of opinion can arise about it,—that it is quite possible within the lines of the three propositions which I have quoted from Mr. Balfour's speech, to frame a measure that will substantially meet all the essential requirements of the case.

As to the "conscience clause," and the exclusion of all State endowment of theological teaching, it is impossible even to conceive that any difficulty can be raised.

No endowment
of
theological
teaching.

First, let us take the theological teaching. In our claims on the subject of denominational education, we never have claimed an endowment for the teaching of religion. This is a point that is often gravely misunderstood. Let me quote for you what I said upon the subject three years ago, at a distribution of prizes in one of the Christian Brothers' schools in Dublin. I said, speaking of a former time :—

"There seemed to be a sort of hazy notion abroad that when we laid claim to State recognition and State aid for Christian and Catholic, as distinct from non-Christian and Secularist, schools, we were claiming the recognition and aid of the State for the work of teaching the truths of the Christian and of the Catholic religion, as distinct from the truths of worldly knowledge."

Then I said to the boys :—

“You, by your success in the examination of the Intermediate Education Board, have put it out of the power of any opponent of our cause, however ignorant or however foolish he may be—you have put it out of the range of possibility to have it said in future that this, or anything like this, is what we demand. You have shown to the world what are the real results of the teaching of a Christian school. . . . The examinations in which you have won success have been conducted upon a programme, not of your choosing, nor framed by your own teachers, but framed exclusively by a Government Board, and framed by that Board with the express purpose of so shaping its requirements that the examinations should be fully and freely open to the competition of all comers, of boys coming from the schools of each religious denomination in the country, and even from those schools, if any such existed, which might unhappily belong to no religious denomination at all.”

Having then referred to the Christian Brothers, the teachers of the schools, I continued :—

“They teach you grammar; they teach you writing; they teach you history; they teach you geography; they teach you mathematics; they teach you the natural sciences, chemistry and the rest. But they teach you what is far better than all this, besides; and you have shown for yourselves, for your teachers, and for the people of Ireland, that those other and higher truths that you have learned here have in no way stood in the way of your attainment of secular knowledge. The Christian Brothers, teaching the various branches of secular knowledge which I have enumerated, care little by what ways or methods the result of their teaching may be tried. They have not shirked the ordeal in which you have borne their credit and your own so triumphantly. And by doing so, you have gained for us that first great advantage—you have made plain to the world the true nature of our demand for the recognition of Christian and Catholic education.”

That explains the sense in which we
 The Irish Catholic claim. have always insisted upon our right to
 State aid for Catholic denominational
 schools and colleges in Ireland. If the State provides
 the equipment and everything else that is requisite for
 the effective teaching of the secular sciences, we shall
 take care of the religious sciences ourselves.

Secondly, as to the insertion of a
A conscience clause. "conscience clause," I have no hesitation in saying that, subject of course to the necessity of most carefully considering the form of conscience clause that may be proposed, I see no difficulty whatever on this score, as I have just explained that I see no difficulty whatever on the score of the absence of any endowment of denominational religious teaching.

I have taken Mr. Balfour's three points in reverse order. I come, then, in the last
Collegiate, not University, endowment for Irish Catholics. place, to that which stands first in his enumeration. He tells us, frankly and unequivocally, that what is in contemplation is not the endowment of a separate Catholic University, but an effective provision for the collegiate training of our Catholic youth in the various branches of science in all the University faculties.¹

Here also there is a manifest necessity for a most careful consideration of the scheme that, let us hope, will soon be unfolded in detail. But, so far as regards the general principle, as I have now stated it,—the principle of the endowment of collegiate work, rather than of the endowment of a separate Catholic University,—that principle was accepted eighteen years ago by the Irish Bishops;² and I am surely safe in assuming that in this matter of Catholic University education, it is to the acts of the Episcopacy we are to look for what may popularly be described as the "high water" mark of the Catholic claim.

When the question of University Edu-
The history of the Irish Catholic claim. cation for Catholics was first raised in Ireland, a Catholic University was sought for. But in those days we were timid

¹ See page 202.

² See pages 47, 48; and 91-94.

in our demands. We sought only for mere recognition. The only claim put forward was for a Charter, so that, maintaining a University for ourselves, we might have the privilege of State recognition attached to its degrees. By degrees we became bolder. The policy of religious equality which Mr. Gladstone manfully took in hands about twenty years ago, raised our hopes and taught us to hold up our heads. There was no reason why we should not look for equality in the matter of education too. And equality meant endowment. But then we were told that it would be fruitless to ask¹ from any English Ministry the endowment of a purely Catholic University.

Resolution of the
Irish Bishops
in 1871.

The project then of having a settlement of the question effected on the lines of collegiate endowment,—with, of course, a full concession of equality in the matter of University status and privileges, as compared with the University status and privileges of the non-Catholic colleges of the country,—was recognised by the Irish Bishops as an admissible and satisfactory alternative. A resolution unequivocally declaring at all events their willingness to accept a settlement of the question on those lines, will be found in the important series of resolutions² passed at the Episcopal meeting in October, 1871.

In that resolution the Bishops ask for the establishment or recognition of—

“One or more Colleges, conducted on purely Catholic principles, and at the same time fully participating in the privileges enjoyed by other Colleges of whatsoever denomination and character.”

The second point in their claim was—

“That the University honours and emoluments be accessible to Catholics equally with their Protestant fellow-subjects.”

¹ See pages 91, 92.

² *Ibid.*

And the third—

“That the examinations and all other details of University arrangement be free from every influence hostile to the religious sentiments of Catholics, and that with this view the Catholic element be adequately represented upon the Senate, or other supreme University body, by persons enjoying the confidence of the Catholic bishops, priests, and people of Ireland.”

And then follows a very noteworthy expression of opinion. The Bishops continue as follows :—

“All this can, we believe, be attained by modifying the constitution of the University of Dublin, so as to admit the establishment of a second College within it, in every respect equal to Trinity College, and conducted on purely Catholic principles.”

That, as you will observe, is only a suggestion. It merely points out one of the ways through which equality could be reached. There are also not a few other such ways, which it would be profitless, and, indeed, premature, now to set forth in detail.

I understand that this line of settlement would be to some extent objected to in Trinity College. I do not wonder at it. No institution that has for centuries been in the enjoyment of a monopoly can be expected willingly to acquiesce in a proceeding that brings upon that monopoly the fate by which all monopolies in such matters are overtaken sooner or later.

But here also we, on our side, have to insist upon the application of the principle of equality. It is, I dare say, strongly felt by many distinguished members of Trinity College, Dublin, that the position which they at present hold, almost unique as it is amongst the Universities and University Colleges of these countries, is a position of

The Trinity
College monopoly.

A position of
singular advantage.

special advantage. They have, within the walls of their own academic institution, a College, of which Ireland has more than one reason to be proud, and a University, in which degrees in all the faculties can be obtained by the students of that College. They are not put off with a College in which they may prepare students for honours and degrees, with the necessity of sending up those students for examination in a University more or less apart from the College itself, and subject at least in part to the influence of the representatives of Colleges other than their own. They have, combined, a College and a University all to themselves. They insist that their present position in this respect is a position of singular advantage; and I most fully recognise that in this view they are perfectly right. A College that practically is both College and University, stands unquestionably in a higher, a far higher, position of advantage, than a College that is only working in connection with a University outside.¹

Beyond all possibility of question, that
What follows? difference exists between those two positions in which a College may be placed. But what follows from all this? Is it that Trinity College is still to stand entrenched in the higher position, whilst we, the Catholics of Ireland, are to be put off with the place below? Manifestly this cannot be what is in contemplation. For, as I note with satisfaction, Mr. Balfour expressly declares that he does not mean to withdraw "in any respect whatever" from the opinion he expressed some months ago in the House of Commons.² Now, what was it that he there expressed?

¹ See the pages referred to in *footnote* 4, page 45.

² See page 133.

The scheme that he foreshadowed was one that would "satisfy all the legitimate aspirations of the Catholics."¹ Our "legitimate aspirations,"—that is the phrase. Now, so far as I know, we have really only one aspiration in the matter. And I do not know that any statesman will take it upon himself to deny that this aspiration is a legitimate one. For what is its object? That object can be expressed in one word—equality. Now, on the showing of the Trinity College advocates themselves, the position created by any arrangement that would leave them still in possession of their old monopoly of the University of Dublin, whilst placing us, the Catholics of Ireland, and our collegiate system, upon an admittedly lower level of advantage, such a position as that, whatever else it might be, could not be regarded as a position of equality. Therefore, it would obviously fail in fulfilling the very first condition, of satisfying that most legitimate aspiration of ours. Therefore, surely, it cannot be the scheme foreshadowed in the recent declarations of Ministerial policy.

But in the recent speech there is more than this. Mr. Balfour, not content stating, as a fact, that he would not propose the establishment of a distinct Catholic University, went on to give the reason why he would not do so. He said :—

"We cannot, with public advantage, found a Roman Catholic University, and I think so because I am of opinion that it would be fatal to the cause of higher education in Ireland if Catholics and Protestants were not brought into competition in obtaining the degrees and honours of University training. If you did not bring them into competition, you might find that either the Protestant or the Catholic standard was lowered to meet the necessities of their clients, and the cause of good education would suffer."²

¹ See page 134.

² See page 202.

I trust that this declaration will meet with the frank acceptance of the heads of Trinity College.

The day is past when they could plead
 Trinity College,
 a Protestant
 institution. — their College is not really a Protestant institution. I need not again go over what I said four weeks ago, about the College Chapel, and the Protestant service there,¹ and the Protestant clergyman who is Provost, and who, scholar and gentleman as he is, sees no harm in publishing a book in which he has no better name for us than the offensive name of "Romanists," and no better name for our religion and its doctrines than the offensive name of "Romish."² Nor need I again mention the figures that show the total number of Catholic students enrolled upon its books to be only 6 or 7 per cent of the students of that College.³ Those statements have, I think, done their work. We find them nearly all set forth one after another in Mr. Balfour's speech,⁴ leading up to the conclusion—a conclusion, I am bound to state with singular frankness—that notwithstanding the abolition of tests by Mr. Fawcett's Act of 1873,—

"It cannot be denied . . . that, if not by its constitution, at all events by its composition, Trinity College is now what it has always been, *a Protestant institution* in its general flavour and complexion . . . You cannot ignore the fact . . . that the whole current of thought in such an institution is, and must be, antagonistic to the current of thought which would be acceptable to the large majority of the Irish people."⁵

In other words, Trinity College, and, consequently, the University of Dublin as it now exists, are, in fact, if no longer by legal restriction, Protestant institutions.⁶ That University, therefore, is not an institution in which this

¹ See page 151.

² See page 133.

³ See page 148.

⁴ See page 197.

⁵ See pages 196, 197.

⁶ See the pages referred to in footnote 1, page 43.

open competition exists, the necessity of which is so strongly insisted upon by Mr. Balfour, as between the Catholic and the Protestant University students of Ireland.

So then, we find many lines converging to one and the same point, in justification of the scheme, if it needs to be justified, which Mr. Balfour seems to propound in this remarkable speech. There is, first, the declaration of the Bishops in 1871; then, there is the necessity of avoiding the setting up of a gross inequality between the status of the Catholic and Protestant Colleges; thirdly, there is the advantage of securing an open competition between the students of both, with the healthful influence which that competition could not fail to exercise upon the maintenance of a suitable standard, and of an efficient system of work, both at the Catholic and at the Protestant side.

Then, again, we must remember that the ancient University of Dublin is now being strangely hustled aside out of the highway of intellectual progress. Quite recently, an eminent public man,¹ presiding at a public meeting of the Royal University of Ireland, declared, not of the old University of Dublin, but of that other new institution the Royal University, that it now "is the powerful instrument which is destined in future to focus the intellectual talents and the literary genius of our country."

Why should this be? When Trinity College, Dublin, was founded, the project of its founders was not that the College was always to stand in solitude, the only collegiate member

¹ Lord Dufferin, Chancellor of the Royal University of Ireland.

of the University of Dublin.¹ No, the College was to be the *Mater Universitatis*, meaning thereby, as Mr. Gladstone once expressed it, "that from the College a University was to spring up, and that other Colleges were to appear from time to time."²

On one point, at all events, there can be no mistake. If the competition that is now beginning to be talked about be ultimately shirked, the refusal to face it will not have come from the Catholic side. So far from shirking it, we challenge it. And, safeguarded as the conditions of it may be, and ought to be, so as to secure the present standard of the University of Dublin against all possibility of being lowered, I sincerely trust that, as the challenge will not be shirked by us, so neither will it be shirked by those who, in our day, are charged with the responsibility of maintaining the academic honour of the old Elizabethan foundation in College-green.

The Catholic University students of Ireland—you, especially, and the students of our University College in Dublin—may enter upon that competition without a particle of misgiving. Unequally, unfairly, as you especially have been dealt with in relation to the examination system of the Royal University,³ you have given good proof of what you can be relied upon to do.⁴

As I mentioned, when speaking elsewhere a few weeks ago,⁵ you, the students of this College of Blackrock, have your list of 118 Honours in the Faculty of Arts of the Royal University

¹ See page 19-26.

² *Ibid.*

³ See pages 300, 301; and 458-464.

⁴ See page 47, and the pages there referred to, footnote 1.

⁵ See the tabulated statement at foot of page 169; see also pages 469-475.

to set against a total of only 62 Honours for the Queen's College in Cork, and against a total of only 48 Honours for the Queen's College in Galway,—that is, a total of 110 from the two Queen's Colleges of Cork and Galway combined. Then you have your list of 37 Royal University Exhibitions, to set against their totals, of 21 Exhibitions for the Queen's College, Cork, and of only 11 for the Queen's College, Galway, making a combined total of only 32 Exhibitions for the students of these two Queen's Colleges, against your total of 37.

In view of these striking figures, there
A praiseworthy
desire. can indeed be but little room for wonder
that you should long for the opportunity
that has not yet been afforded you, the
opportunity of measuring your intellectual strength and
your acquirements with the intellectual strength and
the acquirements of opponents more worthy of your
rivalry than those with whom, as a rule, you have the
opportunity of competing in the Royal University—
the Queen's College students from Cork and Galway,
and the like. Unequipped as our Catholic Colleges,
for the most part, have hitherto been, unfairly treated
as you especially have been,¹ you have done no small
share of brilliantly successful work.² “A watertight
roof, a certain number of teachers, a certain number of
students, a few benches, and some blackboards,”³—
hitherto we have had but little more than this. It is but
natural, then, that our students should await with eager-
ness the introduction of a better state of things, in which
they can stand upon a level of equality in respect of
all Collegiate and University advantages with the students

¹ See pages 300, 301 ; and 458-464.

² See the pages referred to in *footnote 1* on page 47. ³ See page 200.

of Trinity College itself. It is but natural also that, in Trinity College, the prospect of having to face an open competition with our Catholic students, has even already—if rumour may be trusted—created something like uneasiness, but not, I should hope, dismay.

One other remark and I shall conclude.

Mr. Balfour's three conditions. In the opening portion of this speech of

Mr. Balfour's with which I am dealing, and which in one sense becomes so satisfactory towards its close, I find laid down a somewhat startling doctrine, a doctrine indeed so startling, in view especially of the source from which it comes to us, that but for the absolute identity of a number of reports of the speech which I have examined, I should be disposed to question whether the words reported could really have been spoken. They are these :—

“ There are three conditions which I lay down as being absolutely necessary to be fulfilled before anything effective can be done. . . The third condition is that *the general opinion of Englishmen, of Scotchmen, and of Irishmen, should all agree* in declaring that this particular boon should be granted to the Roman Catholic population of Ireland. And unless these three conditions are fulfilled, I for one would never counsel my colleagues to embark in so difficult and so arduous an enterprise as that of dealing with the Education Question.”¹

The fulfilment of the condition here stated is manifestly a matter of absolute impossibility. I say nothing of its obvious unreasonableness. I do not even care to raise the question whether any such extraordinary condition was ever before attached to an official announcement of an important measure of reform. I make but this one comment upon it. Since the veteran leader of the English Liberal

¹ See page 195.

An argument
for
Home Rule. party first put his hand to the work of
setting our local concerns in Ireland free
from the vexatious trammels imposed
upon them by the need of looking to an Imperial
Parliament for every measure of reform, I have met with
nothing more clearly conclusive than this statement
of Mr. Balfour's is, of the hopelessness of the position
taken up by those who still believe that such a Parlia-
ment can be regarded as an effective machine for working
out and administering a system of good government for
Ireland.¹

¹ See pages 292-294.



XX.

LETTER OF AN IRISH CATHOLIC UNIONIST
ON THE UNIVERSITY QUESTION.

(*December 9th, 1889.*)



LETTER OF AN IRISH CATHOLIC UNIONIST ON THE UNIVERSITY QUESTION.

(December 9th, 1889.)

[The following important letter, referring to the two speeches, the leading passages of which are reprinted in the two preceding sections of this volume,¹ was published in *The Tablet* of December 14th, 1889.]

HIGHER EDUCATION IN IRELAND.

To the Editor of "The Tablet."

SIR,

Mr. Balfour's recent speech at Partick, with that of his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin at Blackrock College, opens a new and more hopeful era for the settlement of this difficult question than we as yet have reached. The fault will not rest upon either of them if this great opportunity is lost.

For the last forty years and more this question has been agitated, and between the years 1852 and 1880, "the question of higher education in Ireland" formed a paragraph in the address of every candidate for Parliamentary honours.

Successive Ministries have tried to grapple with it, yet each in turn have failed, because English intolerance and Scotch prejudice² stood in the way of granting to the

¹ See pages 193-203; and 207-229.

² It seems at least to be open to question whether Mr. Dease has not taken a somewhat exaggerated view of the hopeful aspects of the case in

Roman Catholics of Ireland all that equality in educational advantages which are enjoyed by the rest of our fellow-subjects.

The rock upon which the Unionist party stands is, that "the Imperial Parliament is ready and willing to remove all admitted grievances of which we in Ireland complain,"—amongst which inequality of educational endowments is one of the greatest.

It is frequently said that "this is altogether an ecclesiastical question," and one in which "the laity take no real interest." A more unfounded assertion there cannot be; for, after all, it is upon the fathers and mothers of the rising generation in Catholic Ireland that the existing injustice and inequality—which they endure for conscience' sake¹—presses most severely.

As a proof of this I venture to call attention to the terms of an address which was presented to Her Majesty the Queen, on the occasion of her Jubilee, by a number of Irish Catholics who happened to be in London for the celebration of the great event. Here is the passage in the address, to which I refer:—

"We, the undersigned members of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland, at present in London for the celebration of your Majesty's Jubilee, ask permission to lay at your feet this address of loyalty to your Majesty's throne and person.

"We gratefully bear in mind that during your Majesty's long and glorious reign the last remnants of the penal laws

assuming that "English intolerance" and "Scotch prejudice" are not still to have as free scope as they ever have had, in keeping back the settlement of this question. (See the third of Mr. Balfour's "conditions precedent," page 195.)

¹ See pages 49, 50; and 139-164.

have disappeared from the Statute book,¹ and that we are more free than at any other period of our history.

“The hierarchy of our Church has been placed on a footing of equality with the episcopacy of the late Established Church. Freedom of education has been largely secured, and though equality has still to be obtained, we have every confidence that your Majesty’s reign will see the removal of this, the last of our religious grievances.”²

This address was signed by all the Catholic Peers of Ireland, by Privy Councillors, magistrates, deputy lieutenants, members of all the learned, military, and naval professions,—in fact, by individual members of those very classes from which University graduates come.

We did not presume to speak for anyone but ourselves, and our address was the only one from Ireland by Roman Catholics, as such, whose loyalty to the throne has never been doubted.

So deeply were we, Irish Catholic laymen, interested in this question, of vital importance to us—*educational equality*,—that we would not allow even this occasion of Imperial rejoicing to pass by without respectfully expressing the hope “that Her Majesty’s reign will see the removal of this, the last of our religious grievances.”³

I sincerely trust that this hope, so respectfully expressed to Her Majesty the Queen on the memorable occasion of her Jubilee, is about to be realised, and that the Imperial Parliament will show to the world that it is both

¹ It is strange that those who signed this address, especially the members of the legal profession amongst them, should not have adverted to the existing state of the law against our religious orders of men.

² See the preceding footnote.

³ *Ibid.*

able and willing to remove this, "the last of our religious grievances."

Should Parliament refuse to deal with this question in a just and equitable spirit, "the rock upon which Unionists stand" must crumble beneath their feet.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

EDMUND DEASE.

RATH HOUSE, QUEEN'S COUNTY,

December 9th, 1889.

XXI.

POSSIBLE LINES OF SETTLEMENT OF THE
UNIVERSITY QUESTION.

(July 25th, 1890.)



POSSIBLE LINES OF SETTLEMENT OF THE UNIVERSITY QUESTION.

(July 25th, 1890.)

[In July, 1890, a volume entitled *Statement of the Chief Grievances of Irish Catholics in the matter of Education, Primary, Intermediate, and University*, was published by the Archbishop of Dublin. In the course of the volume¹ the following passage occurs.]

Three possible
plans.

Keeping in view the essential requirement of equality, we may regard the Irish University question as capable of being finally dealt with in any of the three following ways. It may be dealt with on the basis either (*a*) of one State-recognised University in Ireland, or (*b*) of two such Universities, or (*c*) of three.

I. First plan:—One State-recognised University in Ireland, embracing as its Colleges; all Colleges fulfilling certain conditions to be laid down as entitling a College to University status; the examinations for the University degrees to be held, and the degrees to be conferred, by the University.

This was the basis of Mr. Gladstone's scheme.²

In any such settlement of the question, the points to be secured would be:—(*a*) an endowment for a fully equipped Catholic College in Dublin, which would place that

¹ See *Statement of the Chief Grievances of Irish Catholics in the matter of Education*. By the Archbishop of Dublin (Dublin, 1890), pages 317-321.

² See *ante*, page 42.

College in a position, and furnish it with advantages, equal in every respect to those of Trinity College; (b) a reform of the Queen's Colleges of Cork and Galway, so as to make those institutions, if they are to be maintained at all, fully available for the education of Catholic students; (c) an equitable representation of Catholics on the Senate or other Governing Body of the University.

II Second plan:—Two State-recognised Universities in Ireland. One of these would be the University of Dublin, modified in its constitution, as Mr. Butt proposed, so as to comprise within it a great Catholic College in Dublin, in addition to Trinity College.¹ The other would be the Royal University, substantially in its present form, but with all necessary modifications in detail.

In any settlement proceeding on this line, the same three points would require attention which have been mentioned in the case of the first plan. But as regards the third of those points, two Governing Bodies would have to be dealt with in this case—one for each University.

III. Third plan:—Three State-recognised Universities in Ireland. One of these would be the University of Dublin, its present constitution, as well as that of Trinity College, being in no way interfered with.² The second would be a

¹ See pages 19-26.

² Except, of course, in so far as its own authorities, or the Protestants of Ireland, might wish for a legal recognition of at least some element of its distinctively Protestant character, which, *whilst it unquestionably exists in fact* (see the pages referred to in footnote 1 on page 43), is no longer theoretically recognised in the constitution either of the College or of the University.

Catholic University, having as its central seat a great Catholic College in Dublin. The third would be a University for the Presbyterians and Protestant Dissenters generally, which would naturally have for its centre the present Queen's College of Belfast.

In such a settlement (*a*) the question of an endowment for the central Catholic College in Dublin would have to be dealt with, as in the two former plans; the same may be said (*b*) of the necessary modifications in the constitutions of the Queen's Colleges of Cork and Galway; but (*c*) the third point would be much simplified, for—so far as regards the protection of Catholic interests—there would be question only of the Governing Body of a purely Catholic University.¹

A misleading
plea.

It is unnecessary here to enter upon any examination of the relative merits of these various ways in which the inequality in the existing provisions for University education in Ireland might be removed. But in connection with at least one of them there is a point that may perhaps with advantage be mentioned here. It has reference to a plea that is sometimes relied upon in opposition to any plan of settlement that would involve interference with the existing arrangements in the University of Dublin, under which the Degrees of that University can be obtained only by students of Trinity College.

The Degrees of the University of Dublin, it is argued, have a value of an altogether higher order than the certificates, miscalled University Degrees, of any merely examining body such as the Royal University. Would they not be deprived of all their real worth if it became

¹ The paragraphs that follow are now printed for the first time.

possible to regard them as giving evidence of nothing more than success at a number of examinations? ¹ And of what else could they give evidence if they were thrown open to students who might never have had the advantage of the academic training of a great College such as Trinity College?

Degrees, or
diplomas?

As to all this, I may, in the first place, say that, so far as my personal opinion is concerned, I have always considered that a University degree should not be conferred in consideration merely of success at examinations, without reference to whether the person on whom it was conferred had gone through a course of academic training at some University in the proper sense of the word.² If, for any reason, it be desirable,—in the case, for instance, of members of certain professions,—that a University should be in a position to grant a certificate of competency in point of mere knowledge, whether professional or general, there is no reason why the University should not in such cases grant a diploma, or other certificate of satisfactory answering at an examination, as distinct from a University degree.

Academic
education within
the University
of Dublin.

But no question as to this point, or as to anything connected with it, really arises in reference to the aspect of the case which we are here considering. Obviously, the completion of the organization of the University of Dublin by the establishment of a second great College within that University,³ need not give rise to any question of the conferring of Degrees as mere certificates of success at examinations, upon students who have not gone

¹ See page 18.

² See pages 5-14.

³ See pages 19-27.

through a course of academic education in a University College. Trinity College is surely very far from exhausting the possibilities of academic education in Dublin.

A grave mistake
corrected.

But my main reason for referring to the difficulty that is sometimes raised on this score is, that underlying it there is a curiously interesting point which seems somehow to have escaped the attention of many who have from time to time taken part in the discussion of our Irish University question.

It is by no means true that, as matters stand, the degrees of the University of Dublin are evidence of an education received in Trinity College or in any College. The Degree in Arts of that University is to be had, just as the Degrees in Arts of the Royal University are, on the condition merely of passing certain examinations, without any necessity whatever of attending lectures, or of following a course of instruction, in any College.

Dublin degrees
obtained on mere
examination.

A candidate, to be eligible for the B.A. Degree of the University of Dublin, must have "kept" a certain number of College Terms. But the Terms may be kept either (1) by attendance at Lectures, or (2) by passing the Term Examinations, without attending Lectures at all.¹

It is perhaps worth mentioning that the College Calendars for the years preceding 1848 do not seem to mention any other condition than that of passing the examinations, as requisite for keeping the Terms of the undergraduate course.

¹ See the Trinity College Calendar for 1896, page 5.

The Calendar for 1838 put the case "Not as in Oxford and Cambridge." with remarkable bluntness:—"Terms in this University are kept, during the undergraduate course, *not by residence, as in Oxford and Cambridge, but by answering at the examinations* held for the purpose at the beginning of each Term."

Attendance at lectures,—with, of course, some form of examination,—is now recognised as one way of keeping the requisite terms in Trinity College. But it is true to the present day, as it was in 1838, that terms may also be kept, "not by residence, as in Oxford and Cambridge," nor by "attendance at Lectures," but by merely "answering at the examinations." Moreover, the Degrees of the University of Dublin give no indication, in any individual case, as to whether the person on whom the Degree is conferred has attended Lectures in Trinity College or not. In other words, there is absolutely no foundation for the statement, so frequently and so confidently made, that the degrees of the University of Dublin, as now conferred, give evidence of a University education, as distinct from the mere passing of a certain number of examinations.

But whilst, for these reasons, the Degrees of the Dublin University really give evidence of nothing more than a success at a certain number of not over difficult examinations, the fact remains that Trinity College, owing to its public endowments, is in a position to offer a collegiate education of a high order to those who can feel themselves free to become students there in the sense of attending the College Lectures, and sharing in all the other academic advantages of the place.

What
Trinity College
has to offer.

XXII.

SOME NOTABLE SPEECHES IN TRINITY
COLLEGE.

(November 11th, 1891.)



SOME NOTABLE SPEECHES IN TRINITY COLLEGE.

(*November 11th, 1891.*)

[At the opening Meeting of the College Historical Society of Trinity College for the Session of 1891-2, the subject selected by the Auditor of the Society for his Inaugural Address was "University Education in Ireland." The Address was an earnest plea for the establishment in Ireland of a system of denominational University Education, including the establishment in Ireland of a Catholic University, chartered and endowed by the State.

The occasion was in several respects a memorable one. Amongst the speakers was Mgr. Molloy, Rector of the Catholic University; and, with but one exception, the speakers, all of whom but Dr. Molloy were Protestants, emphatically supported the Auditor's view.

It is interesting to note how strongly the maxim was insisted upon that the only hope of ultimate safety for Trinity College and the University of Dublin lies in the settlement of the Irish University question on the basis of equality, and that if Trinity College and the University of Dublin are to remain as they are, the question cannot be settled, because equality cannot be reached, except through the establishment of a Catholic University.

The following are extracts from the speeches of the three principal Protestant speakers on the occasion—Lord Justice FitzGibbon, Judge Webb, and Professor Mahaffy.]

The first speaker was Judge Webb. The following extract from the report¹ of his speech in moving the customary vote of thanks to the Auditor may appropriately be inserted in this volume :—

Judge Webb's
speech : the
Catholic claim.

Whether they liked it or not, whether they approved of it or not, what the Auditor asserted they could not deny, that there

¹ Unfortunately, the speeches, though well reported in the newspapers, are reported only in the third person.

was a loud, long-continued, and persistent demand on the part of the leaders of Roman Catholic opinion, that there should be provided for the Roman Catholic community in Ireland a University system which should afford opportunities for the training of its youth in the Roman Catholic religion.

He (Judge Webb) agreed with the Auditor that intrinsically that was no irrational demand. He agreed with him that it was a demand which was not subversive of the principles upon which the mental culture of the youth of Ireland was conducted. And he agreed with him in thinking that so long as that demand remained unsatisfied, the question of University education in Ireland remained unsolved.

Let them consider how many abortive
 Abortive attempts: attempts had been made at the solution
 1845, 1873, 1879. without satisfying the demand.

The Queen's University was established as an institution open to the Roman Catholics, in common with the professors of other creeds, and its Colleges were denounced as godless.¹

Mr. Gladstone thought that by excluding history and morals, as well as religion, from the University curriculum, he would satisfy the Roman Catholic demand; but the Roman Catholics repudiated his gagging clauses as emphatically as they repudiated the godless Colleges themselves.

To meet the difficulty, the Roman Catholic was asked to be satisfied with the Royal University, with its examining boards, its selected Fellows, and its seductive bribes. But the Royal University was found as insufficient to satisfy the Catholic demands as the Queen's University,

¹ See pages 30-33; 153-164; and 401-406.

or the University conceived by Mr. Gladstone. What the Roman Catholic demanded was not the privilege of being examined, but the privilege of being taught—the privilege of being taught by those who professed his own religion, and had his own ideals of intellectual culture.

It might be asked, as it had been
The University of asked, and would again and again be
Dublin.

asked, why the leaders and exponents of Catholic opinion should not be satisfied with that, their own time-honoured University of Dublin. That University was almost the only English institution in Ireland which had proved successful. It was a tree which had struck its roots deep into Irish soil, which had put forth fair Irish blossoms, and had borne rich Irish fruit. It had educated ten generations of Irishmen, not only for the Church, but for the Bar, the Senate, and the World . . . A century ago, it opened its class-rooms, and offered its degrees, to the Roman Catholic. Within their own recollection, the Roman Catholic had been declared eligible for every office of honour or emolument that the University contained . . . But even their University had failed to satisfy the Catholic demand.

How was it then that that University, so tolerant, so liberal, so comprehensive, so scrupulously just, had failed to satisfy the conditions of the problem? The reason to him was obvious, and he trusted he should give no offence if he shortly stated it.

Their University was founded by Protestants, for Protestants, and in the Protestant interest. A Protestant spirit had from the

A Protestant institution.
first animated every member of its body corporate. At the present moment, with all its toleration, all its liberality, all its comprehensiveness, and all its scrupulous honour, the

genius loci, the guardian spirit of the place, was Protestant. And, as a Protestant, he said, and said it boldly, Protestant might it evermore remain.

Judge Webb's view. But he confessed he did not think that this University would in the long run be permitted to remain Protestant, unless there was established a corresponding University which was permitted to be Catholic. Accordingly he concurred in the general conclusion of the Auditor, which was also the conclusion of Lord Mayo² when Irish Secretary, and he inferred it was the conclusion also of Mr. Balfour,³ the greatest Minister for Irish affairs that any of them had ever seen. He (Judge Webb) thoroughly believed that the only thing which would preserve their own University from incessant attack, and afford a final, because satisfactory, solution of the University question, was the establishment of a University in Ireland, Catholic, chartered, and endowed.

The vote of thanks to the Auditor was seconded by Professor Mahaffy, whose speech was on substantially the same lines as that of Judge Webb. The following are the most noteworthy passages:—

Professor Mahaffy's speech : sound principles. For the sake of the discussion, he (Professor Mahaffy) was sorry to have to say that he agreed with almost everything that the Auditor had said. He could offer hardly one word of improvement, nor could he add any argument to what the Auditor had so well put. The Auditor held to the principle of separate Universities, which he himself had advocated for the last twenty years,

¹ See the pages referred to in *footnote 1* on page 43.

² See page 38.

³ But see page 202.

and to the principle that every section of the population that could fairly demand a University should have that University,¹ and that nothing could be called a University which was not a homogeneous body. Therefore the Auditor repudiated altogether, as he (Professor Mahaffy) had done all his life, the notion of a thing called a University,² in which Colleges from the four winds of heaven came together for examination. . . .

He (Professor Mahaffy) agreed thoroughly with what his friend Judge Webb had Professor Mahaffy's view. said, that the question in Ireland would never be settled without conceding what would be just to the Roman Catholic claims and the Presbyterian claims. So long as a separate University was set up for the Roman Catholics, he wished them every prosperity, and sufficiently large endowments from the State, and an immense number of students. But he protested against any scheme which would bring them in as a governing body into this University, without its training, and without its traditions; for he knew that a joint governing body of different religions and trainings would not work satisfactorily, and would cause great mischief to the institution it governed.

Lord Justice FitzGibbon's speech. The proceedings were closed by a stirring speech from the Chairman, Lord Justice FitzGibbon, who vigorously proclaimed that "the first principle to be insisted on, in any attempt to solve the problem of University education in Ireland, should be, boldly, courageously, and firmly to declare that, whether they be innovating educationists, or marauding politicians, there shall be hands off the

¹ See pages 166, 167.

² See pages 3, 5; 10-12; and 18.

University of Dublin." Having explained that he put forward that demand "with no desire to keep to themselves that which they would not give to others," he proceeded to state the various grounds on which he considered that, whatever was to be done, neither Trinity College nor the University of Dublin should be interfered with. The Lord Justice concluded his speech by advocating, as the other speakers had done, the establishment of a Catholic University. The following are the principal portions of this last section of his speech:—

The Catholic
grievance.

Judge Webb had told them truly that the University in which they stood was founded by a Protestant, for Protestants, and in the Protestant interest. Need more be said to show that those who were not Protestants had a just reason to say that the place was not altogether satisfactory to them?

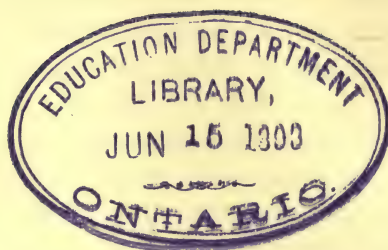
He (Lord Justice FitzGibbon) would single out one or two crucial instances. It was the proud boast of the Church to which he belonged, that every Bishop on her Bench, except one, was a graduate of the University of Dublin. Was there at this moment any University that could offer to the theological students of the Roman Catholic Church the opportunity of obtaining similar degrees after similar training? That question it was impossible to answer in the affirmative. So long as this was so, their demand rested on a sound foundation, and those who demanded that instruction in arts should not be divorced from instruction in theology should have that demand conceded. But it was not to be conceded by cutting up or dividing that which was doing in that place magnificent work, but by

placing the others on an equal basis with Trinity College. While he recognised the impossibility of overcoming in a single College, or even in a single University, the contending opinions and the differing conscientious scruples that great masses of men form on one side and the other, Dr. Molloy had told them, and told them truly, that if they had rival Universities, the competition between them would be beneficial to them all.

It might be said that two Universities would solve the entire question. He did not think they would. In Scotland they had four Universities, though they were not divided in Scotland as sharply into separate denominations as they were here in Ireland. He did not exactly understand why the Scotch people wanted so many Universities . . . However that might be, it proved that there might be in the same country different Universities without their interfering with each other . . .

University
Education on
equal terms for
all who need it.

He felt that the Auditor had taken the true path in seeking to supply to all Irishmen alike who need University education, the means of obtaining it on equal terms. They in that University claimed to be proud of their College, and content with their University. Their work challenged competition: it therefore should be free from disturbance. But if it was to be made safe from disturbance, it should rest on the foundation of justice, and that could only be laid by the State's providing for others what Queen Elizabeth and King James, and their own conscientious discharge of their duty for three hundred years, had provided for that place.



XXIII.

SPEECH AT THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF MEDICINE, DUBLIN.

(November 20th, 1891.)



SPEECH AT THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF MEDICINE, DUBLIN.

(*November 20th, 1891.*)

[The opening of the Winter Session of the Catholic University School of Medicine within a few weeks of the delivery of the speeches just quoted, afforded the Archbishop an opportunity of stating his views in reference to what had occurred at Trinity College. In doing so, he considered in full detail the various lines of policy that might be pursued in reference to the Irish University question, and especially the different ways in which that question can be dealt with on the only defensible line, that of equality.

The following are the principal portions of his speech :—]

A position of
advantage. Just now the question of Irish University Education has come to occupy a position of advantage which I venture to describe as without parallel in all its previous history. Within the last few days the question has passed, and passed most unexpectedly, into an altogether new phase. I need hardly say to you that when I speak in this way, I have in mind the push forward that was given to our University demand by the proceedings at last week's meeting of the Historical Society in Trinity College.

To all of us who are interested in the satisfactory settlement of this long-vexed question, it is pleasant to think of the help that has so unexpectedly come to us. But it is still more pleasant to think of the source from which that help has come. To me, personally, it is a subject of deep

¹ See page 247.

gratification, that for this welcome aid we are indebted to the advancing liberality of spirit in an institution such as Trinity College.

Of that College I have often had occasion to speak in the language of controversy. But I never, I trust, have spoken of it in the language of unfriendliness or unkindness, even when from time to time the unpleasant duty was forced upon me of dealing with it, not as a seat of learning, but as an institution occupying that most hateful position,—a position in which I fear some few of its less reputable champions would still seek to maintain it,—its old position as an entrenched camp and stronghold of the surviving remnant of Protestant ascendancy in Ireland.¹ But there is no fear of the future of Trinity College, or of the University of Dublin, if the spirit of that College and University is truly expressed in the Auditor's address.

The three essential points.

We have now at length heard proclaimed from the platform of the College Historical Society, the doctrine which I with others have been insisting upon for years—namely, that there is only one possible hope of settling this great question, and that this hope lies in the candid recognition of these three points: first, that the existing University arrangements of this country are not based upon the principle of equality as between Catholics and Protestants; secondly, that, in such a case, inequality is indefensible; and thirdly, that equality never can be attained except by giving us, the Catholics of Ireland, the same advantages—whether as regards the College or the University—that are at present available for the Protestants,

¹ See pages 87, 88; and the pages referred to in *footnote* 1, page 43.

especially the Episcopalian Protestants, of Ireland without stint or drawback, in Trinity College and in the University of Dublin. Now I would ask is there any ground for hope that Trinity College, or the University of Dublin, may have the courage to do for themselves¹ what has been so spiritedly done for them—in so far as it could be done by individual expressions of opinion—by Lord Justice FitzGibbon, by Judge Webb, and by the Auditor, Mr. MacNeill Dixon? I can only say that if that were done, there would, in my opinion, be no reason why this vexatious Irish University question, which, to the discredit of British statesmanship, has been so long allowed to stand in the way of the development of the educational resources of Ireland, could not be settled within the next Session of Parliament, by an all-round amicable settlement, and without wasting one week of the time of the House of Commons.

The difficulties only
artificial.

For, in reality, this question is by no means so formidable as it is often assumed to be. No doubt, if we look at it hastily, and, as it were, at a distance, it seems to present a tangled mass of complication. But if we look more closely, we shall see that the complication which at present seems to render its settlement so difficult, does not really spring from anything inherent in the question itself, but is the result solely of that strange perversity of spirit so often displayed by British statesmen in their dealings with Irish affairs.

To work upon the lines of settlement that naturally suggest themselves for the removal of any Irish grievance is about the last thing thought of. The notion far too frequently is, to set about the devising of some intricate

¹ See page 88, *footnote*.

plan to be produced by way of compromise ; the more widely at variance with the Irish view of the case, the better. It is this wretched system, and not at all the difficulty of the University question itself, that has left the University system of Ireland in its present lamentable plight. Let us look, then, calmly at this Irish University grievance, and see in what it consists.

How the case
stands.

The simplest course is to look to the state of things which actually exists in Ireland in the matter of University education. There are four points to be noted—all of them well known to everyone who takes any interest in this great question.

A University and
a so-called
University.

The first point is, that there are at present in Ireland two Universities, or to speak somewhat more accurately, two bodies under the name of Universities,—one of them the University of Dublin, a University in the proper sense of the word ; the other, the Royal University, an institution of which I wish to speak with all possible respect, but of which I must say that it is mainly, and indeed all but exclusively, an examining body, and, therefore, a University in little more than in name.¹

An unbalanced
advantage.

The second point is, that in the former of these Universities, the real University, there is a College, Trinity College, and that the University confers its degrees, its honours, and its prizes, upon all who pursue their studies there² and fulfil the prescribed conditions as regards examinations and the rest ; whilst the other, the so-called University, has no College of its own, and confers its

¹ See pages 4, 5 ; 10-12 ; and 18.

² See, however, pages 241-244.

degrees, its honours, and its prizes, upon all who satisfy the requirements of its examiners, no matter in what College they may have studied, no matter even if they have not studied in any College at all.

The third point is, that the one College of the first University, and three of the Colleges in which students are prepared for the examinations of the second, are maintained by Parliamentary grants or by public endowments.

Then comes the fourth and last point, namely, that every one of these four Colleges, so maintained, is organized on a principle that is emphatically condemned by the teaching authority of the Catholic Church, as dangerous to Catholic faith, or to the fidelity of Catholics in the duties imposed upon them by their religion,¹ and that, therefore, save in certain exceptional circumstances only rarely to be met with,² Catholics are not justified in conscience in availing themselves of the advantages which those Colleges afford, —advantages which, in all the circumstances of the case, are nothing more or less than so many bribes, held out to them by the public authority of the State to lead them into a path that is forbidden to them by the voice of conscience, and so by the voice of God.³

All this being so, it is plain that there are but three possible lines of policy that can be held in reference to it.

The first of these goes upon the line of refusing to recognise that there is any real inequality in question. This, which, I am sorry to have to say, is the view taken by a certain small but noisy section of our fellow-countrymen,—chiefly amongst

¹ See pages 30-33; 153-164; and 401-406.

² See pages 157-159.

³ See page 162.

the Presbyterian population of the North,—may well be called, apart from the religious tenets personally held by those who maintain it, the Pagan view of the case. I call it the Pagan view, for a very obvious reason. It rests upon the assumption that, as the four Colleges endowed by the State are, by their legal constitution, thrown open to all, those who refuse to enter them are not justified in complaining that they are in any way shut out. In other words, in this view of the case, conscience is treated as of no account.¹ And this is Paganism in its very essence.

The second is what I may term the
The ascendancy
view. ascendancy view. This view takes account
indeed of the conscientious difficulty by
which Catholics are excluded from taking advantage of the State-endowed Colleges—that is to say, it recognises the existence of that difficulty as a fact. But there it stops. For it refuses to recognise that the existence of that conscientious difficulty gives us any solid claim to press for the introduction of a better state of things. In other words, it frankly recognises that those Catholics,—you here, for, instance, the students of this unendowed University School of Medicine, you who have come here, instead of availing yourselves of the advantages offered to you in any of the Queen's Colleges if you could conscientiously accept them,—that you, and all others like you, stand at a decided disadvantage compared with Protestants, that you are placed, as it were, before the State, on a lower level than they are. But then it goes on to say that this lower level is good enough for you, and that it is intolerable you should think of complaining as if you had

¹See pages 70, 71.

any claim to hold your heads as high as your Protestant neighbours. This view, whilst recognising the existence of the inequality, refuses to recognise in that inequality the existence of any grievance. I therefore call it the ascendancy view. For ascendancy, if it means anything, means inequality—the maintaining of one set of people in an artificial position of advantage over their neighbours.

The statesmanlike,
Christian, view.

Then, thirdly, and finally, comes the statesmanlike, and, I may add, the Christian, policy, which, taking account of the conscientious difficulty, and of the inequality resulting from it, frankly recognises that, in view of that inequality, things cannot be left as they are.

Now, there was a time when it was necessary to argue in defence of this third line of policy, as against the advocates of the two that I first mentioned. May I not say that that time has passed? I look upon the proceedings at the meeting of the Trinity College Historical Society,¹ last week, as having practically put an end to it. In all future discussion of the University question, we may almost take as our starting-point, that our right to equality—a real and thoroughgoing equality—is now fully and frankly recognised.

The only question remaining to be dealt with is, how this equality is to be attained.

As to this, I can do little more than repeat what I have so often before said, here or elsewhere,—namely, that at this point also, as at the point from which we originally had to set out,² three possible courses present themselves.

Equality can be reached in any of these three ways—

¹ See page 247.

² See page 261.

either by having but one University in Ireland, or by having two Universities, or by having three. Let me point out briefly the outline of each of these three possible schemes.

In the first of the three, there would be
 One University but one State-recognised University in
 in Ireland. Ireland. The organization of this National

University would embrace, as Colleges of the University, every College of University rank in Ireland,¹ such as Trinity College, Dublin, Queen's College, Belfast, one or more Colleges for the University education of Catholics, and possibly other Colleges, if others could be found fulfilling the exacting conditions which of course should be laid down as requisite to entitle a College to rank as a College of the National University.

So far as our Catholic grievance is concerned, the first point to be secured in any such scheme as this, would be the endowment of at all events one fully-equipped Catholic College on such a scale as to place that College and its students in a position, and furnish them with advantages, equal in every respect to the position and advantages of Trinity College and of the students frequenting it.

The second possible plan for the settle-
 Two Universities ment of the question upon the basis of
 in Ireland. equality would proceed on the line of having two Universities in Ireland.

I may perhaps be asked is not this precisely what we have in Ireland at present—the University of Dublin on the one hand, and the Royal University on the other? That is a question which may possibly suggest itself to some persons, so I had better deal with it at once.

¹ See page 239.

We have at present two Universities in Ireland, but the existing arrangement is one of almost ludicrous inequality. In the plan that I was about to speak of—it was a plan suggested by Isaac Butt—the arrangement would be such as to bring about an absolute equality between Catholics and Protestants. See how matters now stand. Take, for instance, Trinity College. That College has within its own walls every element of a complete University organization, as well as of a complete College organization. There its students are prepared for their degrees. There they are examined for their degrees. And in all this, there is no shadow of control or interference by any external body outside the lines of its own collegiate and University organization.

The existing
inequality.

Now, do not suppose that I am at all objecting to this. I am merely stating facts. One of the speakers, Lord Justice FitzGibbon, at last week's meeting of the College

Historical Society, seemed to think that

“Marauders.”

the present pleasant state of things there was in some danger of being overturned. He spoke of people going about, whom he called “marauders.”¹ Well, I can assure the Lord Justice that provided only we can have justice,—that is to say, equality,—reached in any other way, “marauding” within the territories of our neighbours is about the last thing we are likely to think of. At the same time, it is well to have it clearly understood that unless we are to be placed upon the same level with Trinity College, we mean to insist that Trinity College shall be placed upon the same level with us.

I have just described to you the actual state of things in

¹ See page 251.

Trinity College and the University of Dublin. It cannot, of course, be questioned that a College having the advantages I have described, stands upon a far higher level of advantage than a College such as any Catholic College for higher education now existing in Ireland. All our Colleges are obliged to follow the particular programme of studies and of examinations laid down by a body external to themselves; and they have to send up their students to be examined by that external body for their degrees.

This, as you know, is our position in relation to the Royal University. It is essentially a position of inequality. It is a position that cannot by any process of tinkering be converted into anything else. You may have equality of endowment, but you cannot have equality of status, so long, for instance, as the School of Physic in Trinity College stands in this respect upon the higher level, whilst we are kept down below.¹ Whether it is to be called "marauding" or not, to keep this point before the public, and to insist upon the establishment of equality in this essential respect, I, for one, mean to keep it before the public until justice is done, in the only way in which justice possibly can be done, that is, by having this intolerable inequality removed.

Now, Mr. Butt's plan for the removal of
 Isaac Butt's
 plan. the inequality, proceeded, as I have said,
 upon the line of having two Universities in
 Ireland. Of these two Universities, one would resemble, more or less closely, the present Royal University; the other would be the University of Dublin, widened,² however, so as to include within its organization another College as well as Trinity,—a College equally well equipped and

¹ See the pages referred to in *footnote 4* on page 45. ² See pages 19-27.

equally well endowed, and as fully acceptable to Catholics as a place of University studies, as Trinity College is, and always has been, to the Protestant Episcopalians of Ireland.

That was Mr. Butt's plan, and you observe that, like the first plan of which I have already spoken, it would effect a radical change in the present University status of Trinity College. The monopoly of University rank in the University of Dublin, hitherto enjoyed by Trinity College,¹ would be put an end to. Trinity College, in fact, in either of those plans, would be brought into a position as regards University status, which, whilst differing in points of detail, would not differ in any particular of essential importance from the position now held by our Catholic University Colleges in relation to the Royal University. Both these schemes are, therefore, I suppose, to be set down as projects of the "marauders."

Three
Universities
in Ireland.

Then comes the third plan, the arrangement based upon the establishment of three Universities in Ireland. These would be—the Royal University, modified in whatever way might be deemed necessary to make it most acceptable to the Presbyterians of the country; secondly, the University of Dublin, remaining as at present, with Trinity College in its venerable monopoly of University rank within that University; and thirdly, a Catholic University, with its Catholic College or Colleges, equipped and endowed so as to establish an absolute equality between that University and its College or Colleges, on the one hand, and the Protestant University of Dublin, with its Protestant College, Trinity College, on the other.

¹ See the pages referred to in *footnote 4* on page 45.

This third plan, as you see, has the advantage of keeping clear of everything of a "marauding" character. So far as Trinity College and the University of Dublin are concerned, it would leave things precisely as they are. No doubt, from the statesman's and the politician's point of view, there is a decided advantage in a scheme like this, which unsettles as little as possible existing institutions that are working well.

It may be considered a further point in favour of this scheme, that it has secured beforehand the outspoken support of men of position and influence at the Protestant side, men thoroughly devoted to the maintenance of the Protestant interest, and to the maintenance especially of the interests of Trinity College.

All that has occurred in connection with the recent meeting of the Trinity College Historical Society¹ is indeed most satisfactory in its way. But it would be idle to deny that to a large degree it runs counter to that current of public opinion which has set in of late years with considerable force, in the direction of a settlement of the University question on the lines of one common National University, or at all events of a widening of the existing arrangements of the University of Dublin, so as to admit of the establishment of a second College, a Catholic College, within the University, as suggested by Mr. Butt.

I have never felt called upon to pin myself to any of those three views of the case in particular. What we look for is equality. What we insist upon having, and what undoubtedly we shall have, if we continue to press for it, is equality.¹ Beyond that broad general statement of our

¹ See page 247.

claim, I have never felt myself called upon, or indeed quite free, to go.

But I would ask to have this remembered, especially by our Trinity College friends, that the introduction of what Lord Justice FitzGibbon stigmatizes as the "marauding" element into the question has not come from us.

Look back to the beginning of this question. What was it that was asked for by the Catholics of Ireland when they first took courage to protest against the policy of bare toleration, and to ask for justice? Was it for the overthrow of the University of Dublin, or for any interference either with that University or with Trinity College, whether through the construction of a common National University, or through the introduction of a more compact reform such as that sketched out by Mr. Butt? Nothing of the kind. What we asked for was a Catholic University, pure and simple.² We did not seek to interfere with our neighbours. We asked only to be put upon a fair footing, so that we could work along for ourselves.

But I well remember how that direct claim of ours was met. It was met by sneers and taunts and gibes. We were told that the reason we asked for a Catholic University was that we wanted to plunge back the country into what men sometimes speak of as the darkness of the Middle Ages. We wished, it was said, to have a University of our own where we could have everything our own way, where science and literature and philosophy could be put on the shelf, and where degrees would be conferred and prizes awarded, not as rewards for learning, or as encouragements to learning, but for exemplary piety

¹ See pages 57, 58; and 368-370.

² See pages 48, 49.

in the saying of the Rosary, or exceptional grace in performing the genuflexions and ceremonies of the Church.

That was how they met our claim. And,
Dr. Haughton if I may ask it without offence, where was
of Trinity Trinity College and its sympathy then?
College.

There is no fear of your misunderstanding me. I do not know whether I may not be now speaking in the presence of a distinguished Fellow of that College,¹ who has often been friendly enough to come to us here, on such occasions as this—one of those eminent men, and they are by no means few, whose learned labours, in bringing honour to their College and to their University, have brought honour to Ireland. I know there is no fear of my being misunderstood as to this. When I complain that the practical sympathy of Trinity College was not always with us in the past, every one here knows as well as I do, that, wherever else that reproach of want of sympathy with Catholics in those early days of struggle may lie, there is at all events one man who stands clear of it.

I have brought here with me a volume of pamphlets, containing, amongst others, a pamphlet written by Dr. Haughton of Trinity College, as far back as 1868. The title of it is "University Education in Ireland."

Let me read for you this passage. At page 177 of the pamphlet, Dr. Haughton says:—

"The Irish Catholics asked the English Parliament for bread, and they gave them a stone; instead of a chartered University, with a fair endowment and perfect freedom of education, they received Queen's Colleges, which were condemned as godless, and which they were prohibited by their Church from using."

¹ The Rev. Dr. Haughton, Senior Fellow of Trinity College.

Then he continues :—

“ Let the Parliament of England for once try an experiment which will meet with the approval of Irishmen of all classes, and give to Ireland a third University, in which the highest and best type of Catholic education shall be developed freely. Protestantism cannot suffer by the contrast, and education must certainly benefit.”

What follows is well worthy of note :—

“ If Germans can proudly boast of their twenty-seven Universities, if Italians can point to twenty-one Universities, . . . if little Belgium can support her four Universities, all active and required by the wants of her people, surely it cannot be too much for the Irish people, divided as they unhappily are by distinctions of religion and bitter recollections of ancient feuds, to ask that the Protestant University of Elizabeth and the Secular University of Victoria¹ shall be supplemented by a Catholic University, sharing with her friendly rivals, no longer jealous sisters, the glorious task of leading the youth of Ireland into the pleasant paths of literature and science.”

I felt it was only due to Dr. Haughton that I should bring this pamphlet here to-day, and read for you those few passages of it, to show you, and to bring under public notice, that what is now beginning to be said so freely in Trinity College in favour of the establishment of a Catholic University in Ireland, was said there by Dr. Haughton when this pamphlet of his came out, now practically a quarter of a century ago.

But, as I have just now said, our claim
British statesmanship. for the establishment of a Catholic University, when we first put it forward, was rejected. As a substitute for such a University, other schemes and projects were set before us by British statesmen, according to their fashion—anything, everything, but what we asked for.² After some years, as a result of all

¹ The Queen's University, which was then still in existence.

² See pages 35-45.

this, we gained at all events one thing—the establishment of the Royal University. In other words, the field of competition was thrown open to us; and in that opened field, the students of our unendowed, unaided, Catholic Colleges have given good proof that, whoever else may have reason to be afraid of open competition, they at all events have not.¹

A restricted competition. I have spoken of the field of competition as thrown open to us. Well, it is not quite fully open. There is one section of it still closely railed off. There is one College still screened in from competition. Speaking on behalf of the Catholic University students of Ireland, I have often said, and I repeat it here to-day, that the exemption of Trinity College from the necessity of submitting its students to the examinations of an open University,—of an open examining board, such as the Royal University—and the consequent absence of its students from the public University competition of the country, does not represent a state of things the continuance of which is in any way advocated or sought for by us.

The Catholic position. We, at all events, have no reason to fear the results of a competition with Trinity College. Victorious as we have hitherto been, in so far as the field has been partially thrown open to us, we shall be still more triumphantly victorious if the last remaining barriers of exclusiveness are thrown down. As to our attitude on this point, there must be no misunderstanding. We have made it plain beyond all possibility of question that it is not we who shirk the test of open competition. But, our honour being thus safe-

¹ See the pages referred to on page 47, footnote 1.

guarded, we shall not be found unreasonable in our attitude towards any other scheme of University reform that may be offered to us. We shall not be found unwilling to accept any such scheme, provided always that it stands the one simple test—the only test that I can ever be a party to applying to any measure of reform in this department of public affairs—the test of equality, absolute and unqualified.¹

Continuous Catholic
success.

Now I cannot conclude without saying some few words upon a topic that I have never failed to speak of on the occasion of any visit of mine to this Medical School. I mean of course, the extraordinary continuous success of the students of this School of ours in the open competitions of the Royal University. It is an old story,—how you have triumphed all along the line, heavily handicapped though you were, not only taking the first place, but even distancing so many of your most highly-favoured competitors. Old as the story is, each year that passes brings with it the addition of a new and interesting chapter.

If we were to confine ourselves to but one chapter,—the current chapter, as I may call it,—our friends of the Queen's Colleges perhaps might say that we were merely picking out the results of a particular set of examinations that happened to turn out in our favour.² Therefore it is, that, on all such occasions as this, I have taken the whole series of the Medical examinations of the Royal University from the beginning. I have taken the examinations known as the First Medical Examination, the Second Medical

¹ See page 78.

² See page 106.

Examination, the Third Medical Examination, and the examination for the Degree of M.B. When I say that I have gone back to the beginning, I mean that I have gone back to the year 1884-5, the year in which our Medical School was brought fully into working order for all the grades of the University Medical Examination. As I have done in the past, I do again to-day.

I take, then, all those examinations, for the whole period of seven years that has elapsed from the beginning until now.

The examinations thus comprised within our survey are, in all, more than 40.

Now, in those seven years, the number of First-class Honours¹ awarded by the Royal University to students either of any of the three Queen's Colleges or of our

¹ *Number of First-class Honours and First-class Exhibitions awarded by the Royal University to Students of the three Queen's Colleges, and to Students of the Catholic University Medical School and University College, Dublin, at the First Medical, Second Medical, and M.B. Examinations, in the seven years from 1884-5 to 1890-91 inclusive.*

COLLEGE.	First-class Honours.	First-class Exhibitions	Total First-class Honours and First-class Exhibitions.
Catholic University School of Medicine, and University College, Dublin	17	13	30
Queen's College, Belfast ..	16	12	28
" " Cork ..	7	4	11
" " Galway ..	1	1	2

N.B.—For the results brought down to date, see page 477.

Catholic 'University Medical Faculty,' was 41. How were these distributed? Queen's College, Galway, carried off only 1; Cork, only 7; Belfast—as a matter of course, first among the three Queen's Colleges,—heads their list with 16. But you stand even above Belfast. Your number is 17.

Now, for the higher test of the First-class Exhibitions. The number of these awarded in the seven years was 30. Here again, Galway is credited with a solitary unit. Cork has only 4. Belfast, always, of course, to the front, has 12. But here again we stand even above Belfast. Our number is 13.

How the public
money is spent.

So much for one side of the account, the record of successful work done. As to the other side, the cost of it to the country, it is unnecessary now to reproduce the figures which I have so often gone through in detail,² showing that, in the three Queen's Colleges, the direct yearly public endowment for the teaching purposes of the Medical Faculty—to say nothing of the special Scholarships provided by the State for the students of that Faculty³—amounts, in Belfast, to £1,650; in Cork, to £1,640; and in Galway, to £1,790.

Besides, we must not overlook the substantial yearly outlay of public money in these Colleges upon other matters that may be classed as subsidiary. Take, for instance, the outlay for the repairs and maintenance of the buildings of the three Queen's Colleges. The whole cost of this, as I have more than once mentioned, is borne by the public, through the Board of Public Works.

¹ See page 277.

² See pages 99, 100.

³ See page 473.

Under this heading, I find the following items in the Parliamentary Estimates—the latest issue of the Estimates I have been able to refer to¹—those for the year 1888-89:—

“PUBLIC BUILDINGS, IRELAND.—Maintenance, Repairs, and other Current Charges:—

“Queen’s College, Belfast,	...	£346
“Queen’s College, Cork,	...	761
“Queen’s College, Galway,	...	465
<hr/>		
“Total	... ..	£1,572.”

For the preceding year, the Estimates were even higher. The total amount provided for that year, under this head, was £1,972.

Moreover, to the various amounts that I have already mentioned, there are to be added the amounts set apart for the maintenance of Scholarships for students in the Faculty of Medicine in each Queen’s College. These amount to £600 a year,—that is, to £200 a year in each of the three Colleges. For, in each College, 8 Scholarships, of the value of £25 each, are specially set apart for the students of the Faculty of Medicine.²

Now, however, we have seen how the students of those three Queen’s Colleges, maintained at all this expenditure out of the public taxes, have fared when they had to encounter the students of this absolutely unendowed Medical Faculty of our Catholic University at the open examinations of the Royal University.

¹ See also pages 333-351; and 440-447.

² See page 473.

Brilliantly
successful work
in Science.

I conclude with this remark. There is one most noteworthy circumstance in your successes here—or rather, as I should have said throughout, in the successes won by you, the students of the Medical Faculty of our Catholic University; for, from want of room here, we have been obliged to intrude upon the hospitality of Father Carbery, the President of University College, Stephen's-green, and to look to that College for accommodation for the work of some of the scientific subjects of the Medical course.¹

Looking to the nature of the sciences that are dealt with in that section of the course, if there were any truth in some of the current notions of the day, we might expect, in those higher departments of natural science at all events, to find our Catholic students very backward indeed. But what is the case? It is in those very branches of science that many of our most brilliant successes have been won.

It is when we come to the higher range of work in that department, to the science of Biology, as it is studied there in all its extent, that we find those striking results of which the Rector told us in his opening words.

The University
"Studentships"
in Biological
Science.

Mr. Blayney, as we all know, has the high distinction of having won the Biological "Studentship" in the Royal University.²

In this he has but followed up the success of a distinguished Student of our School, Dr. Coffey, who, two years ago, also won a Biological Studentship of the Royal University. This, surely, is a striking fact—a fact that cannot be

¹ See page 101.

² A University prize of special distinction: £100 a year for five years.

too strongly pressed upon public attention—that the only two Studentships in Biological Science that have as yet been awarded by the Royal University have been won by students of the Medical Faculty of our Catholic University.

XXIV.

SPEECH AT BLACKROCK COLLEGE.

(June 20th, 1892.)



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[The following are the principal portions of a speech delivered by the Archbishop at Blackrock College on the 20th of June, 1892. The occasion of the Archbishop's visit to the College was the presentation of Exhibitions awarded by the Catholic University to two students of the College. Three Exhibitions are awarded by the Catholic University, each year, to those three students, from any of its Colleges,¹ who obtain the highest places, amongst such students, at the First University Examination in Arts, the Second University Examination in Arts, and the B.A. Degree Examination, in the Royal University. On this occasion, two out of the three highest places having been taken by Blackrock students, two out of the three Exhibitions were to be presented to them.]

When I last spoke here about our
Mr. Balfour's University question,² that question seemed
speech at Partick. just then to have reached a point of higher
and more hopeful promise than it had reached at any
previous time. For it had been taken up and dealt with in
an eminently sympathetic speech by a powerful Minister,³
—a Minister who was backed by a Parliamentary majority
of overwhelming strength, and of whom it is said by all
who know him that when once he has made up his mind
as to the carrying out of any line of policy, he is not
to be deterred by any obstacle from using the strength

¹ See page 46.

² See page 207.

³ See page 193.

of his majority to clear his way through every obstacle that might obstruct his course.

There was the further fact that I happened to have spoken upon the University question at our Catholic University School of Medicine in Cecilia-street only a few weeks before,¹ and that my speech on that occasion had somehow attracted a rather unusual amount of attention in the newspapers, in the English and Scotch newspapers quite as much as in those at home. It was not easy to avoid attaching some significance to the fact that the Chief Secretary, speaking so soon afterwards, travelled over a good deal of the same ground, and that he dealt, and even dealt with emphasis upon some points that had only then for the first time been brought forward in connection with this question.

The topic to which I refer most particularly in this last remark is that of the position occupied in the field of Irish education by that highly-favoured and well-endowed seat of learning, Trinity College, Dublin.

In my speech at the Medical School I had addressed myself very particularly to what I may briefly designate the Trinity College aspect of the case. There are, it seems, some people who hold that the Catholics of Ireland have had no real grievance in the matter of University education, since Trinity College has been thrown open, as they say, without let or hindrance, to all comers, irrespective of religious creed. There are even some Catholics to be found—weak-kneed, puny-spirited Catholics they must be—who talk in that humiliating strain. I took some pains in that speech to point out, not merely the logical absurdity, but the departure from

¹ See page 139.

Catholic principle involved in such a view. It would be out of place for me here to repeat what I then said upon this subject. But I do not like to pass it over altogether in silence.

The Trinity
College Ter-
centenary celebra-
tion.

Trinity College is just now on the point of celebrating an interesting event in its history, the three hundredth anniversary of the day when it was founded with the twofold object of advancing learning and of ridding Ireland of Popery. Well, great as the success is which it has attained in one of these departments of work, it certainly has been anything but successful in the other.

Let me say at once that I am far from entering into the view of those who hold that the coming Tercentenary celebration of Trinity College should be looked upon with disfavour by any section of the Catholics of Ireland, and, in particular, by the Catholics of Dublin. Of late especially, the College has on more than one occasion given pretty plain proof that, whilst on many grounds it is proud of its history and its reputation, it is, at the same

A better spirit.

time, rapidly making up its mind to draw a broad line of distinction between its past and its future. It is doing this very distinctly in the matter of justice to the Catholics of Ireland in the sphere of Catholic University education.¹ Surely, whilst this is so, it would be churlish on our part to withhold the tribute of friendly feeling and of friendly congratulation, from the present representatives of that great Protestant seat of learning in our city.

At the same time, I cannot but think the present an opportune moment for noting some few points connected

¹ See page 247.

with Trinity College, and for throwing perhaps some little light upon the delicate question of how far it is honourably open to any of us as Catholics to enter into the feelings of those who will conduct the College festivities.

The earlier work of
Trinity College. First of all, I will say, for my own part, that if I had any share in the duty of maintaining the honour of Trinity College, I should, on one ground at all events, very much prefer that, instead of having an existence of three centuries to look back upon, it had an existence of but one century, or, we might well say, of a much shorter time. I do not care to go into this point in detail. It is enough to recall, in the fewest possible words, that, of the many engines that were at work in Ireland in past centuries for the undermining of the faith of the nation, there was not one that went through that work with more thorough-going persistence than Trinity College did at least for two out of the three centuries of its existence.

Trinity College and
Catholics. From its foundation in the chief city of Catholic Ireland in 1592, it was not until the year 1794, not yet a hundred years ago, that Catholics were made legally admissible even to its degrees.¹ And down to a much more recent date, not yet a quarter of a century ago, they were still rigorously excluded from all share either in the government of the College, or in the substantial prizes and emoluments derived from its endowments.² When the old barriers, one after another, at length went down, it was in large measure the result of pressure from without. And, moreover, it was by no means unusual to find all this outside pressure, and the reforms to which it was intended to lead, exclaimed against, and resisted, by opposition from within.

¹ See page 28.

² See pages 42, 43.

We shall possibly be reminded that all this has passed away ; that, now at all events, the College is thrown freely open to all comers ; and that, of all the offices or posts of dignity or emolument in its gift or in the gift of its rulers—from the Provostship itself down to the very lowest prize,—there are practically none that are not as fully and as freely open to Catholics as they are to Protestants.

All this, no doubt, in one sense, is perfectly true. But, in so far as it is true, we have to remember, side by side with it, another fact which, to Catholics, is one of indisputable truth. It is, that the opening of Trinity College, the abolition of all religious tests as conditions of promotion to its various offices of emolument or dignity, has in no way met the claim of the Catholics of Ireland in the matter of University education ; and that, consequently, the opening, as it is called, of Trinity College to Catholics by the act of secularization—Mr. Fawcett's Act of 1873—was an opening indeed in theory, but to no appreciable extent in fact.

The grievance, as we know, was that the State persistently refused to endow, or even legally to recognise, any University, or University College, which could on Catholic principles be approved as a place of education for the Catholic youth of Ireland. So far as Catholics were concerned, the secularization of Trinity College could have no other effect than that of shifting somewhat the grounds of the grievance. For, so far as Catholics were concerned, that measure of so-called reform simply gave us a fourth Queen's College in Ireland.¹

¹ See pages 149, 150

I may remind you of what was said of all this beforehand, by a distinguished Fellow and Professor of Trinity College, Dr. Haughton. Writing in 1868, when the project of "opening" Trinity College to Catholics was first seriously discussed, Dr. Haughton said:—

"The practical effect of secularizing Trinity College, if the experiment were successful, would be to convert it into a fourth Queen's College . . . So far, therefore, as Irish Roman Catholics are concerned, the secularization of Trinity College would be to them a loss, and not a gain.

"It would not satisfy the just demand of the Irish Catholics for University education, merely to admit them to the Fellowships and Scholarships of a secularized college, the principle of which they must feel bound to condemn."

But there is something still worse behind. The position of Trinity College since 1873 is indeed peculiar. Viewed as

A combination of
drawbacks.

we must view it, its last state is, in fact, worse than its first. For whilst the College now combines within itself the drawbacks of the "mixed" system, it, on the other hand, retains not a few of the most prominent symbols of the old system of Protestant ascendancy.

I am not now speaking in any way of Trinity College as a place of education for Protestants. I am speaking of it only as a place of education for Catholics. I am speaking of it as a College maintained out of public endowments by the State, standing prominently forward in one of the leading positions in our city, and maintained there in absolute monopoly of State favour, as the one endowed and well-equipped place of University education, and, in fact, the only endowed University College of residence, within the reach of the Catholics of Dublin or of Ireland.

I have a note here of some words
Mr. Gladstone on Trinity College. spoken upon this subject by Mr. Gladstone.
They are in every sense as true to-day
as when he spoke them in the course of a debate on
Mr. Fawcett's Bill for the abolition of religious tests in
Trinity College in 1873. Staunch Protestant as he is,
Mr. Gladstone declared that the process of secularization
could not possibly meet the requirements of the case.
He said :—

“ My opinion is that the entire people of Ireland should have free
access to the University of Dublin ; and I own, for my part, I go a
step further, and say that, so far as I can see, it is impossible for them
to have access, if they are to be confined to that teaching, and that
mode of passage into the University, which Trinity College affords.”

And he added :—

“ There is no doubt that Trinity College is a College of Protestant
traditions, and Protestant aspects, and Trinity College must long so
continue.”

It cannot surely be necessary before any assembly of Irish
Catholics, old or young, to point out how amply this
forecast of Mr. Gladstone's has been fulfilled. To the
present day, his description is as true as ever—“a College
of Protestant traditions and Protestant aspects,”—and to
the present day there is not even a glimmer of the dawning
of the time when it can be anything else.

“ Protestant traditions and Protestant
aspects.” Here is a case in point. I
“ Protestant traditions and Protestant aspects.” happened the other day to take up the
Trinity College Calendar for the present
year. There I find, upon the very first page, an
announcement—an announcement, no doubt, most fitting
to occupy a prominent place in the official Calendar
of a University College—a long detailed announcement of

the arrangements for Divine Service in "the College Chapel." There I find set forth the hours, morning and evening, at which the daily Protestant service is to be held in the Chapel; the days on which certain of the Professors are to preach in the Chapel; the days on which the Protestant Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is to be administered in the Chapel; and so on.

This, we have to remember, is the official place of worship of a College which so many of its over-zealous champions seek to parade before the public as a national institution, as an institution furnishing to the Catholic youth of Ireland every advantage, every privilege, which as Irishmen, or as Irish Catholics, they could think of claiming.

What Catholic student in Trinity College, I would ask, could possibly keep up a vestige of self-respect unless throughout his whole career he was in continual protest against the official glorification of Protestantism of which that College Chapel is the centre? He has to submit to being told, almost in so many words, that it is nothing to him whether there is a Protestant chapel there or not, nothing to him whether that Protestant chapel is the official place of worship for the College. He has come to Trinity for his degrees and prizes. He will get them in due course. In the meantime it is better for him to remember who he is, and where he is, and to ask no questions. He is not forced to worship in that Protestant chapel, and that is enough for him. He has to put up with all this, although at the same time he knows that it is perfectly notorious to everyone in the place what would happen if the case were reversed, and if an attempt were made to appropriate that College Chapel to Catholic purposes just as it is appropriated to Protestant purposes now.

he case were
reversed?

There is a very practical way of illustrating all this. I have used it before,¹ but there is a special appropriateness in recurring to it just now.² Let us suppose that the case was reversed. Let us suppose, for instance, that Mass was to be said there every morning, and High Mass sung and Benediction given, on Sundays and holidays, with some Catholic priest, such as our friend Monsignor Molloy, installed in the Provost's chair and in the Provost's house, and a staff of Catholic priests teaching Catholic theology in some of the lecture-halls, and preaching in the College Chapel on Sundays, preaching, of course, the doctrines of the Catholic Church,—the Real Presence, the Invocation of Saints and of the Blessed Virgin, Papal Supremacy, and Prayers for the Dead. Why, every Orange sash in Ulster, or out of it, would be displayed; every Orange drum in the country would be beaten; every Orange ditch would be lined; and, in all probability, the commander-in-chief of the great Ulster army, that we now hear so much talk about,³ would give the signal for the march on Dublin, though he might not perhaps succeed in making his way very far beyond the first police station on the Dublin road out of Belfast.

A humiliating
position.

That simply is how the case stands. We find it put before the eyes of every Catholic student in Trinity College, as plainly as if it were placarded up there in the plainest words in the English language, that what

¹ See pages 151, 152.

² See the next footnote.

³ This speech was made on the eve of the General Elections of 1892 when certain Ulster orators were declaiming in a strain of ludicrous bluster as to the duty of the Protestants of Ulster to take up arms to resist the operation of any Act of Parliament establishing Home Rule in Ireland.

would not be tolerated for one week by the Protestants of Ireland, if anyone were to think of applying it to them, is quite good enough for him. It is put before him, in hundreds of little ways, that he is under the deepest of obligations to those who have consented to let him into their College at all ; that it is his solemn duty to thank them for allowing him to be there, even under these humiliating conditions of religious inequality ; and that he is bound especially to show his gratitude for all this by blowing his little trumpet of praise of Trinity College whenever occasion offers.

Most especially is he called upon to discharge this duty of praise and thanksgiving when he is encountered by any adverse criticism upon the existing provisions for University education in this country, and, above all, whenever he finds an exceptionally arrogant individual—especially if it be a priest, a Bishop, or an Archbishop—who may think it right and proper from time to time to give expression to the audacious sentiment that the Catholics of Ireland have rights of which they have long been unjustly deprived, and that one of those rights is the right to stand upon a footing of equality with their Protestant fellow-countrymen—of equality in every point and incident of civil life, and, therefore, in respect of every educational advantage which the State continues to provide for any section of its subjects.

It was, I confess, a singular gratification to me to find my views as to the dominant Protestant spirit of Trinity College frankly accepted and endorsed by so eminent an authority as Mr. Balfour. It can be no harm just now to quote once more that passage from his memorable

Mr. Balfour on
Trinity College.

speech at Partick, which I have quoted more than once elsewhere :—

“ It cannot be denied that, if not by its constitution, at all events by its composition, Trinity College is now what it always has been, a Protestant institution in its general flavour and complexion . . .

“ I believe that not 7 per cent of the students are Roman Catholics. Every Sunday, in the College Chapel, services of the late Established Church of Ireland are worthily celebrated ; and the theological chairs . . . are filled, and necessarily filled, by members of the late Established Church of Ireland.

“ You cannot ignore the fact . . . that the whole current of thought in such an institution is, and must be, antagonistic to the current which would be acceptable to the large majority of the Irish people.”¹

Now, coming back to what I spoke
Mr. Balfour's
Partick Speech. of at the beginning, let me remind you
that it was in the speech delivered by
Mr. Balfour shortly before my last visit to Blackrock, that
the words I have now quoted occur.

It was in that speech, delivered at Partick on the 1st of December, 1889, that Mr. Balfour, after making this frank acknowledgment as to the present state of affairs, put forward his memorable proposal for the establishment of a well-endowed, well-equipped college, for the University education of the Catholics of Ireland.

Here were his words :—

“ In these days, University Education cannot be made the cheap thing it used to be many years ago. There was a time when all that you required to constitute a University was a water-tight roof, a certain number of teachers, a certain number of students, a few benches, and some blackboards. But all that has been changed by the advance of medical and scientific training. In order to teach science and medicine properly you require a most costly equipment. That costly equipment I do not believe . . . can be provided by the Roman Catholic population of Ireland. . . .

¹ See pages 196 197.

"My own opinion is that we ought to give them a well-equipped College—a Collège thoroughly well-equipped for all modern purposes of higher education, in which they could learn Latin, Greek, Mathematics, Science, Medicine, and Law."¹

Now what was the fate of that proposal?

Mr. Balfour's three points. The proposal, let me remind you, was

summed up by Mr. Balfour in three points:

first that the new institution should be a College, not a University; secondly, that there should be no endowment by the State of theological teaching; and thirdly, that there should be what is termed a "conscience clause," providing that any student who might choose to attend the College, but did not share the religious tenets of its Catholic governing body, should not, as Mr. Balfour said, be compelled to attend either theological lectures or theological—I suppose he meant religious—services.²

Lest there should be any room for
How the proposal was accepted. doubt as to whether the programme so

sketched out could be regarded as up to the essential requirements of the case, as put forward on so many occasions by our episcopal body, speaking publicly in this hall before the week was out in which Mr. Balfour's speech was delivered, I declared that within the lines laid down by him full provision could be made for everything that had to be insisted upon on Catholic grounds.

As I have quoted Mr. Balfour's words in making his proposal, it may be well for me also to quote the words in which I endorsed it. They were these:—

"I have no hesitation in saying—for, from repeated acts of our episcopal body it is clear that no difference of opinion can arise about it,—that it is quite possible, within the lines of the propositions I have quoted from the Chief Secretary's speech, to frame a measure which will substantially meet all the essential requirements of the case."³

¹ See pages 200, 201, 203.

² See pages 202, 203.

³ See page 217.

Not content with this merely general statement, I went through the three points of the proposal in detail. I discussed them one by one ; and one by one I described them as satisfactory.¹

In reference to Mr. Balfour's proposal, and to my prompt declaration in endorsement of it, a somewhat remarkable letter soon afterwards appeared in the English paper, *The Tablet*. It was from a well-known Irish Catholic gentleman, Mr. Dease. Mr. Dease said :—

“ Mr. Balfour's recent speech at Partick, with that of His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin at Blackrock College, opens a new and more hopeful era for the settlement of this difficult question than we have as yet reached. The fault will not rest with either of them if this great opportunity is lost.”²

The Tablet itself, I should say, was not at all so hopeful. In an article which was *The Tablet* on Mr. Balfour's three conditions. of marked significance, in view of the general attitude of that paper upon the Home Rule question, it dealt somewhat severely, not to say roughly, with our Unionist Chief Secretary. It fastened fiercely upon some suspicious-looking passages in Mr. Balfour's speech, passages which I had not at all overlooked, but which I had sought to interpret in a sense more favourable to his candour and sincerity. It used, indeed, decidedly unpleasant language, characterizing some of the things Mr. Balfour had said as “insincere” and “ridiculous.” It then pursued him in the following fashion :—

“ One hesitates to apply such an epithet to any words of Mr. Balfour. But if we were to take them seriously, we should have to go further, and say that he has done what he can *to make the position of the Unionists who are also Catholics untenable.*”

¹ See pages 217-228.

² See page 233.

This, of course, was in reference to Mr. Balfour's having laid it down as a condition "absolutely necessary to be fulfilled" before he could undertake to give the Catholics of Ireland what he acknowledged they had a right to in the matter of University education, "that the general opinion of Englishmen and of Scotchmen," as well as of Irishmen,—including apparently the opinion of the unrelenting Presbyterians of Ulster,—“should concur in desiring that this particular boon should be granted to the Roman Catholic population of Ireland.” I had myself commented upon that bewildering statement.¹ But my comment was moderate and mild in comparison with that of the great English Catholic Unionist organ. *The Tablet* went on :—

“When was ever such a doctrine heard before? . . . Mr. Balfour has produced the most cogent argument in favour of Home Rule which it has ever been our lot to listen to . . .

“The Government admit that the measure ought to be passed, and it would certainly be passed by a Dublin Parliament in a week ; and yet the Government . . . will deliberately choose to perpetuate an injustice because they prefer the probable opinion of Scotland, which is not concerned, to the certain opinions of the people of Ireland, whose dearest and most vital interests are bound up with it.”²

Another not unfriendly commentator on
 Other comments
 on
 Mr. Balfour's
 three conditions.
 Mr. Balfour's speech, my respected friend
 and colleague in the episcopacy, Dr. Healy,
 the Coadjutor Bishop of Clonfert, also
 expressed himself on the subject, as he is so well able to
 do, in language of unmistakable plainness. Writing upon
 it in *The Dublin Review*, he said :—

“If Mr. Balfour, after his declaration in the House of Commons cannot, or will not, induce his party to settle this question, then all we

¹ See pages 228, 229.

² *The Tablet*, 7th Dec., 1889.

can say is that such a fact will furnish an unanswerable argument in favour of the need of Home Rule for Ireland, and will strike a heavier blow at the Union than ever it received before.

"If the thing, as all concede, ought to be done, and you admit that you cannot do it in London, then, in the name of common sense, let us try our hands in Dublin. At any rate, our failure cannot be more signal than yours." ¹

And I should not omit to quote the closing words of Mr. Dease's letter, the opening sentence of which I have already given you :—

"Should Parliament refuse to deal with this question in a just and equitable spirit, 'the rock upon which the Unionists stand' must crumble beneath their feet." ²

Well, three Sessions of Parliament have run their course since then, and where are we now? Precisely where we were three years ago, not an inch farther on the road. May I ask, then, have "the Unionists who are also Catholics"—to use *The Tablet's* phrase—come to recognise that their position has been made "untenable?" Mr. Balfour, after all his interesting declarations, has not induced, perhaps because he has not been able to induce, his party to settle this question. What then is to become of the rock on which all our Catholic Unionist friends stood in fancied security three years ago? And what are all those who then stood upon it, going to do now? It will be interesting to know how many of them, even now, are prepared to join in the inspiring cry, "Let us try our hands in Dublin."

At all events, whilst all this interesting political speculation is going on, we, the Catholics of Ireland, have failed to obtain even the smallest crumb of satisfaction in the

¹ *Dublin Review*, Jan., 1890, page 21.

² See page 236.

direction so admirably described to us by Mr. Balfour in his speech. To-day, just as three years ago, we find in full possession of its old monopoly of State endowment and of State favour in Dublin, Trinity College, that great institution so truthfully described by Mr. Balfour as "a Protestant institution, Protestant in its general flavour and complexion," with its "whole current of thought antagonistic to the current which would be acceptable to the large majority of the Irish people."¹

Catholics and the
Tercentenary
festivities. What I have said, I think, is quite sufficient to indicate the limits within which—at all events as the case presents itself to me—it is possible for any Irish Catholic who has any respect for himself and for the religion which he professes, to take part in the coming Tercentenary festivities of Trinity College.

n so far as it might be sought by means of those festivities to propagate the delusion that Trinity College is, in any true sense of the word, a national institution, or that it is anything different from that which Mr. Gladstone described it to be, when he spoke of it, in 1873, as "a College of Protestant traditions and Protestant aspects," or that it is anything different from what Mr. Balfour described it to be when he spoke of it in 1889 as "a Protestant institution, Protestant in its general flavour and complexion"—in so far, I say, as it might be sought by means of the coming festivities to give currency to any such fiction, Catholic Ireland could have no sympathy with the proceedings, and should have to protest against so unfair a use being made of an occasion

¹ See pages 196, 197.

in itself so interesting. But taking the celebration in itself, and upon its own merits, I, for my part, can see no reason why an Irish Catholic may not honourably and without inconsistency join in the public rejoicing of the College for the vigorous life that animates it to-day at the close of the third century of its existence.

I will even say, moreover, that, if we look upon Trinity College, not merely as an ancient seat of learning, but even in its religious aspect, as a Protestant institution, an institution Protestant in its "traditions," in its "aspects," in its "general flavour and complexion," and in the "whole current of its thought," we should still have reason, upon an occasion such as this, to extend towards it a friendly feeling.

In one important sense, Trinity College
A hopeful change. is no longer what it was. It no longer
proclaims that what it has to offer to the
comparatively few Catholic students who enter it,¹ can be regarded as anything that could satisfy the legitimate claims and aspirations of the Catholics of Ireland. Above all, it has ceased to be the bigotted and unrelenting opponent of the concession even of the fullest measure of justice to Irish Catholics in the department of Catholic University Education.

See what occurred at the opening meet-
The College ing of the College Historical Society, for
Historical Society. the present Session, last November.² To
the amazement of very many people even in Dublin, the Auditor's address was an argument in favour of the

¹ See pages 148, 197.

² See page 247.

equitable settlement of the University question. It contained not only a singularly generous appreciation of the present facts of the case, but also a singularly favourable consideration of the best method of bringing about a final settlement of the question by the establishment of a Catholic University for Ireland.

But even the sympathetic views of the Auditor were thrown in the shade by the unqualified and emphatic declarations in favour of the establishment of a Catholic University that were made by the other speakers of the evening, amongst whom were some—and notably one—of the former students of whom Trinity has most reason to be proud, filling, as they do, with conspicuous credit to themselves and to their *Alma Mater* some of the foremost positions in official life in Ireland.¹

I have spoken, so far, only of what I may term the collegiate portion of the coming Tercentenary celebration at Trinity College. There is another, and a most important, feature of the celebration, as set forth in the published programme. It is one in which, from its nature, Catholics will be debarred from taking part. I mean the religious service in St. Patrick's Cathedral. But I am bound to add that, to my mind, there is no feature of the College celebration as to which Catholics ought to feel more deeply gratified at seeing it assigned so prominent a place.

In that act of religious worship, the Protestant service in which Trinity College will give thanks to God for its present long-continued prosperity,—though, as Catholics

The Tercentenary
religious service.

¹ See pages 247-253.

none of us can personally take part in it—we can all rejoice to see in it a public profession of belief and trust in God, and in the workings of His protecting Providence.

It is more than this. It is a solemn protest against the further enroachments of the secularizing spirit of the age. It is, moreover, an honourable and a manly act. It gives proof that Trinity College, whatever some of its mistaken friends may say of it, does not mean to sail
No false pretences. under false colours. The College will come
forth honestly and openly into the streets of the city, and will pass in solemn procession to the chief Protestant place of worship in Dublin, not pretending to be anything but what it is, but, on the contrary, making public profession of its Protestant faith as a Protestant institution; Protestant, as Mr. Gladstone said of it, in its traditions and in its aspects; Protestant, as Mr. Balfour said of it, in its general flavour and complexion, and in its current of thought; Protestant, as it always has been; Protestant, as it means and hopes to be in the centuries that lie before it; Protestant, but willing and anxious to live on good terms with all its Catholic neighbours.

It is in this light that the College procession through he city from the College-green to St. Patrick's Cathedral will be viewed by the citizens of Dublin,¹ whether Catholic

¹ There is an interesting reference to all this in the speech of the Rev. Provost of Trinity College at the Tercentenary meeting in the Leinster Hall, Dublin, at which the various congratulatory addresses from Universities and other learned bodies were presented.

Referring to the "kindness and courtesy" with which the people of Dublin had met the Tercentenary procession as it passed through the streets of the city to the Protestant Cathedral, the Provost, after expressing the indebtedness of the College to the Lord Mayor of Dublin, made the following graceful allusion to the speech quoted above:—

"There is another person to whom I should also express my gratitude—I mean to his Grace the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin—who, I think, rightly felt that, whatever our differences may be, he was, in perfect

or Protestant. Viewing it in this light, they will exhibit towards it that feeling of sympathy and friendly interest which on so many grounds it is entitled to claim.

In conclusion, I have to congratulate
 Continued
 marvellous success. you on the truly marvellous success that continues to distinguish the work of the students of this University College. That success would fully merit the epithet that I have given to it even if we were to consider it apart from the circumstances in which it has been attained. Taking those circumstances into account, I can only say—and I say it without exaggeration—that I fail to find any form of expression which I could take as conveying any adequate idea of it to those who are not familiar with the record of it in detail.

Adverse conditions. First, you are under this most serious disadvantage, that you have to go into this competition with the students of other Colleges who have been prepared for the examination by their own Professors, those Professors being the examiners who are to examine both them and you.

Upon this grave and fundamental disadvantage I am not now going to speak
 An emphatic
 practical protest. at any very great length.¹ It speaks for itself. My view about it has long since been expressed in the form of a very practical protest. On account of it, and on account of it alone,—from my feeling that it was

sympathy with us in remembering that we were a religious foundation, and that our thanks on this occasion were due in the first place, as we rendered them, to the Almighty God Who had supported us in the three hundred years past, and to Whom we look for our support in days to come."

¹ See pages 458-464.

impossible, for me at all events, to have any share of the responsibility of further upholding it in its undiluted unfairness,—I resigned my seat upon the Senate of the Royal University¹ eight years ago.

That protest was ineffectual at the time. It will be effectual yet. Meanwhile, all I will say upon the subject is this, that, even if this College of yours were as well equipped as the College contemplated by Mr. Balfour in his Partick speech,² if it were equipped and endowed up to the level of equality with the three Queen's Colleges, or with Trinity College itself, largely as that equipment and endowment would enhance the effectiveness of your College as a place of education, it could do but little—and indeed I fail to see that it could do anything at all—towards the establishment of really equitable terms of competition for the students of this College at the examinations of the Royal University, so long as that fundamental and all-pervading element of inequality remained unre-moved.

A system of competitive examinations may be a bad substitute for a system of University education.³ Indeed I hardly know of any worse form of substitute that could be devised. But so long as we have to put up with it, I, for one, must continue to insist upon the undeniable fact, that the system as we have it,—I am now speaking of it as it affects you, and as it affects the students of more than one other Catholic College in Ireland,—fails in the very first condition of fairness.⁴

¹ See pages 458-461.

² See page 203.

³ See pages 5-14; 18.

⁴ The three preceeding paragraphs are introduced here from some speeches and letters on the same subject, that could not, without too much repetition of practically identical matter, be reprinted in this volume. (See also pages 458-461.)

Another element
of inequality.

So much for this first and fundamental point. Then, secondly, you have to face in the competition the students of three endowed Colleges, the Queen's Colleges of Belfast, Cork, and Galway, each of which is kept up by the State with an endowment of, I believe, £10,000 a year, Colleges, the students of which, to use words that I have often quoted, "are aided in preparing for their examinations by State funds—libraries, laboratories, and other educational appliances being provided for them at the public expense, while all such assistance is denied to students of denominational Colleges."¹

The results
of the
examinations.

These, then, are the terms of the competition. And what is the result of it all, as between you and the students of those Queen's Colleges so unfairly favoured by the State

I say nothing of Queen's College, Belfast. That College has always done good work, and has given to the State full value for the yearly grants by which it has been maintained. But as to the Colleges of Cork and Galway, in the maintenance of which the public money is poured out so lavishly,—those Colleges that used to blow the trumpet so loudly in the days gone by, when there was no means of bringing their pretensions to the test as is now done by the examinations of the Royal University,—as to those two Colleges, how does the case stand between them and you?

A noble record.

As to this, I have taken the trouble to make up a return from the Calendars of the Royal University for the last seven years,—that is to

¹ See pages 56, 57.

say, for the whole period during which your College has been at work, in all the grades of the examinations in Arts up to, and including, the examination for the B.A. Degree.

Take, first, the lists of Honours.¹ During the whole of that period, Queen's College, Cork, succeeded in taking 79 Honours. Galway came very close upon Cork. Its number is 75. But Blackrock has to its credit 152—that is to say, only 2 short of the combined totals of those two well-endowed and most unfairly favoured Colleges of Cork and Galway.

But, as I have always noticed in connection with the successes of our Catholic Colleges at the Royal University examinations, the higher the standard we take, the more prominently will our success appear. We have seen how the case stands as regards the lists of Honours. Let us come now to a higher test. Take the list of Exhibitions.

Here we find that Blackrock has 52 Exhibitions to its credit, whilst Cork has but 31, and Galway but 23.²

¹ *Number of Honours and Exhibitions gained by Students of the Catholic University College of Blackrock, and by Students of the Queen's Colleges of Cork and Galway, at the Examinations of the Royal University in the Faculty of Arts, up to, and including, the Examination for the B.A. Degree, in the seven years from 1884-5 to 1890-91 inclusive.*

COLLEGES	Honours	Exhibitions	Total, Honours and Exhibitions
University College, Blackrock	152	52	204
Queen's College, Cork ...	79	31	110
Queen's College, Galway ...	75	23	98

² See the preceding tabulated statement.

Next we may take a still higher test, the list of First-class Honours,¹ and in it,—just as we should expect to be the case,—the success of the students of this College stands out still more prominently than before. In this case, your total for those seven years exceeds the totals of Cork and Galway combined.

The number of First-class Honours gained by the Cork Queen's College stands at 21; Galway comes close with 19. Their combined totals make 40. Well, Blackrock has 48. So that when we rise to the highest grade of Honours, this College of yours has 8 more than the combined totals of those two Queen's Colleges. And in the still higher list of First-class Exhibitions, we have a still more striking testimony to your brilliant success. For in this case whilst Cork has but 7 Exhibitions, and Galway but 6, Blackrock has no fewer than 19.

The Catholic
University
Exhibitions.

I have now the pleasure to present
the Catholic University Exhibitions that
have been awarded to the three students

¹ *Number of First-class Honours and First-class Exhibitions gained by Students of the Catholic University College of Blackrock, and by Students of the Queen's Colleges of Cork and Galway, at the Examinations of the Royal University in the Faculty of Arts, up to, and including, the Examination for the B.A. Degree, in the seven years from 1884-5 to 1890-91 inclusive.*

COLLEGES	First-class Honours	First-class Exhibitions	Total First-class Honours and First-class Exhibitions
University College, Blackrock	48	19	67
Queen's College, Cork ...	21	7	28
Queen's College, Galway ..	19	6	25

of Colleges of the Catholic University who have taken, this year, the highest places, amongst such students, at the Examinations of the Royal University—the First and Second University Examinations in Arts, and the examinations for the B.A. Degree, respectively. Before doing so, I may announce that two of the students who have taken those three first places this year are students of this College of Blackrock, and that the third is a student of my own Diocesan Seminary, Holy Cross College, Clonliffe.



XXV.

AN INCIDENT IN THE DEBATE ON THE
HOME RULE BILL OF 1893.

(*June 21st, 1893.*)

AN INCIDENT IN THE DEBATE ON THE HOME RULE BILL OF 1893.

(*June 21st, 1893.*)

[The following are extracts from a speech delivered by Mr. David Plunket, then one of the Members for the University of Dublin, on the 21st of June, 1893, during the proceedings in Committee of the House of Commons, on the Home Rule Bill of that year.

Mr. Plunket's speech was delivered in moving a resolution for the introduction of a clause prohibiting the Irish Legislature from making any law affecting "the constitution, endowments, property, or privileges of Trinity College, Dublin, or the University of Dublin."]

Mr. D. Plunket's
speech. I wish now to say a few words as to the actual state at the present time of the demands of the Irish Prelates on this subject [of University education in Ireland]. I will not weary the Committee with many declarations, but I must give one.

The Catholic
claim. It was made by the present Archbishop of Dublin, the Most Rev. Dr. Walsh, on a very remarkable occasion about seven years ago, just at the time when he had been appointed Archbishop. He went to visit his brother Archbishop, Dr. Croke, at Thurles, and was presented with an address by the students.¹ The utterance I am about to quote was made in response to that address. I should say it was just two days after Parliament had assembled in January, 1886. The Government of Lord Salisbury was then

¹ See page 87.

in office, and the air was thick with rumours, one of them being that the Government were about to give to the Roman Catholic Bishops a Denominational University¹ for themselves, largely endowed, and in every way calculated to attract them, except that it was not to interfere with Dublin University or Trinity College.

What did Archbishop Walsh say on that occasion? He said:—

“Without running the risk of being set down as a false prophet, I may safely say that an attempt to deal with the Irish University question will be amongst the chief proposals to be set before Parliament when it begins its work.² It would, moreover, from the signs and whisperings that are in the air around us, be no difficult task to sketch out the outlines of the projected measure that will be offered to us. Its main purpose will be to buttress up that ancient citadel of ascendancy and exclusiveness which has stood for centuries in College Green. To maintain unshaken that standing monument of conquest, this new proposal will offer us in all probability the heaviest of heavy bribes. If it be so, I can safely prophecy of this new attempt that may be made to patch up the wretched system with which at present the Catholics of Ireland are forced to content themselves as a system of University Education, that it will but serve to add one other item to a long catalogue of sad and disastrous failures. For so long as that central fortress of the education that is not Catholic is allowed to stand, as it has now so long stood, in the very foremost position, and to occupy the most glorious site, in our Catholic city of Dublin, so long will it be impossible for any statesman, be he English or Irish, to deal with this great question on the only ground on which University reform in Ireland can be regarded as satisfactory or even as entitled to acquiescence—the open and level ground of full and absolute equality for the Catholics of Ireland.”

The report I have quoted is taken from

A distorted
summary.

The Freeman's Journal of January 15th,
1886. The Archbishop says, in effect:

“You may offer us the most tempting salaries, the most splendid endowments and buildings, and every honour

¹ See pages 311-314.

² See page 66.

³ See pages 87, 88.

which may make the new University acceptable to us ; but so long as this ancient citadel stands as the representative of the education which is not Catholic, no settlement offered by English or Irish statesmen will be acceptable."

[As to this, I must interrupt the quotation from Mr. Plunket's speech to observe that he was altogether astray in his statement of facts.

The essential distinction. The rumours that were in circulation upon the subject at the time in question pointed to the establishment, not at all of a Catholic University, but of a mere College under Catholic management and control, which was not to have, as Trinity College has, a complete University organization of its own,¹ but was to work, as the Queen's Colleges do, in connection with the Royal University. The distinction is of vital importance, in view especially of the catching fiction to which this speech of Mr. Plunket's gave some currency for a time.

Equality. Any project for the establishment of a Catholic University would presumably have been so constructed as to give effect to the principle of equality, as between the new Catholic University, with its endowed College or Colleges on the one hand, and the University of Dublin and Trinity College, on the other. It would, therefore, so far as this point is concerned, have stood clear of criticism.

Inequality. But the case was essentially different when there was question of a project for the establishment merely of a Catholic College in connection with the Royal University. Such a project

¹ See page 45, and the pages there referred to in *footnote 4*.

would leave Trinity College in undisturbed possession of its old monopoly of the advantages of the University of Dublin,¹ and could not, therefore, be regarded otherwise than as essentially defective and inequitable, inasmuch as it would place the new Catholic College in a position of marked inferiority to the central stronghold of Protestant education in College-green.

Any Catholic College established under such a scheme might well be regarded as discharging a double function, and this was the view taken in my speech at Thurles. On the one hand, it would, no doubt, do something, but necessarily on a low plane, for Catholic education. On the other hand, it could not but serve, at all events for a time, as a buttress for the propping up and consolidating of Trinity College in its old position as the stronghold and citadel of the still remaining vestiges of Protestant ascendancy in Ireland.

Suppressio veri. It will be observed that Mr. Plunket, in his summary² of the passage which he quoted from my speech, strangely omitted all reference to those points that clearly determined the nature of the project to which the speech referred as inadequate to the settlement of the University question. He omitted from his summary all reference to the essential fact that the speech insisted upon equality as the one essential condition of a satisfactory scheme. He wisely omitted this; for he would have found considerable difficulty in explaining how equality could be brought about by giving the Catholics all that they ever asked for, whilst taking from the Protestants all that they ever

¹ See page 45, and the pages there referred to in footnote 4.

² See pages 310, 311.

have had. Furthermore, he omitted all reference to the vitally-important qualifications indicated in the words "ascendancy" and "exclusiveness," which so clearly determined the grounds of my reference to Trinity College.¹ It is matter for stronger comment that he distinctly represented my speech as referring to a project for the establishment of an independent Catholic University, and as denouncing that project on the ground that Trinity College and the University of Dublin were not to be interfered with, whereas nothing could be more obvious than that the project referred to in the speech was of a wholly different character.

The so-called University. Even in the words which Mr. Plunket himself quoted, the project against which my speech was directed is distinctly referred to as "an attempt to patch up *the wretched system*² *with which at present the Catholics of Ireland are forced to content themselves as a system of University education.*" In other words, the project protested against was plainly spoken of as a project based, not upon the establishment of a Catholic University, but upon the establishment of a mere College, subject to all the requirements of the examining board known as the Royal University.³

An obviously inadequate scheme. This being so, the scheme was protested against as inadmissible, for a very obvious reason. It was not, as it could not possibly have been, protested against on the ground stated by Mr. Plunket, namely, that although a Catholic University was to be established and endowed, under conditions in all other respects satisfactory, there was to be no interference with Trinity

¹ See page 87, footnote 4.

² See pages 5-14, and 18.

³ *Ibid.*

College. For, as we have seen, it did not contemplate the establishment of a Catholic University at all. It contemplated only the establishment of a Catholic College. This being so, it was protested against only in so far as it implied that, *whilst no better provision than this was to be made for Catholic higher education*, Trinity College would continue undisturbed in its possession of all its present advantages,—and would, in fact, be consolidated in the possession of all those advantages,—whether in point of endowment, or in point of University status as the one College of the University of Dublin.¹

All this, Mr. Plunket strangely ignored, and, as I have to point out, he still more strangely persisted in treating it as of no account, even after his attention had been distinctly directed to it, both by Mr. Harrington in the House of Commons,² and subsequently by myself in the columns of *The Times*.³

Mr. Plunket's speech continued as follows:—]

I am quite aware that, in presence of the Home Rule Bill, very moderate language indeed has been used; and *The Freeman's Journal*, which I believe is the organ of the Catholic Prelates of Ireland, has made various complimentary allusions to Trinity College. They have said it has some claims on Irishmen, and has done some service to Irishmen, and they have spoken of levelling up as well as of levelling down.

That is all very well in the presence of
 The "doom" of Trinity College. a Bill which proposed to transfer the control of Trinity College from this Assembly to an Irish Legislature; but I

¹ See page 45, and the pages there referred to in footnote 4.

² See page 315.

³ See pages 324, 325.

have quoted the words which were solemnly spoken in a most resolute and far-reaching way. These words mean either the transformation of Trinity College into a place of Catholic teaching,¹ or its abolition. They mean confiscation or destruction. That is the doom pronounced by this haughty Prelate.

[In the course of the discussion that followed, Mr. Harrington effectively disposed of the fiction that had been set up by Mr. Plunket through his misreading of the speech from which he had quoted.

Mr. Harrington pointed out that, "in the extract which the right hon. gentleman had read, the Archbishop was dealing with the claim of the Irish Catholics for equality in higher education, and only referred to the objection of Trinity College standing as *a badge of ascendancy*, inasmuch as Irish Catholics were not to be placed on terms of equality with it."

As a further statement of the view that had been so strangely misrepresented, Mr. Harrington then quoted in full the passage from the printed *Statement of the Chief Grievances of Irish Catholics in the matter of Education*, published in 1890, which is republished in this volume under the heading: "Possible Lines of Settlement of the University Question."²]

¹ This wild allegation was not reported in *The Times*, although *The Times'* report of the speech was a very full one. It is, however, to be found in the report, published a few days afterwards in "Hansard," which is marked as revised by Mr. Plunket himself. (See page 328.)

² See page 239.

XXVI.

A CORRESPONDENCE IN *THE TIMES*.

(*June 23rd—July 5th, 1893.*)

A CORRESPONDENCE IN *THE TIMES*.

(June 23rd—July 5th, 1893.)

[In a leading article in its issue of the 22nd of June, 1893, referring to Mr. David Plunket's speech delivered in the House of Commons on the previous evening, *The Times* made the following extraordinary statement:—

“In dwelling upon the dangers to which [Trinity College] would be menaced under a Home Rule Parliament, Mr. Plunket relied not only upon the well-known and universal educational policy of the Roman Catholic Church, but upon the explicit declarations of Archbishop Walsh concerning the determination of the priesthood to convert it into an exclusively Catholic seminary.”

The following letter of protest was written by the Archbishop, and was published in *The Times* a few days afterwards.]

ARCHBISHOP'S HOUSE,
DUBLIN, 23rd July, 1893.

SIR,

I think you will not fail to recognise that I have a fair ground of complaint on the score of some statements which I find published in a leading article in *The Times* of yesterday.

The statements of which I complain have reference to the speech made by Mr. D. Plunket in the House of Commons last Wednesday, when moving an amendment for the exemption of Trinity College and the University of Dublin from the jurisdiction of the future Irish legislature.¹ Speaking of Mr. Plunket, you say:—

“He relied . . . upon the explicit declarations of Archbishop Walsh concerning the determination of the priesthood to convert it [Trinity College] into an exclusively Catholic seminary.”

¹ See page 309.

In this short passage, *The Times* has made itself responsible for the three following statements :—

1. That there is a determination on the part of the Catholic clergy to convert Trinity College into an exclusively Catholic seminary ;

2. That this determination has been the subject of an explicit declaration, or rather of “ explicit declarations,” from me ; and,

3. That the existence of those alleged declarations of mine has been vouched for to the House of Commons by one of the Parliamentary representatives of the University of Dublin, Mr. Plunket, a gentleman whose reputation, in public as in private life, is sufficient guarantee, whether in England or in Ireland, of his truthfulness in the utterance of any statement of fact for which he may have made himself personally responsible.

Now, you will allow me to assure you that not one of the three specific statements to which *The Times* has so formally committed itself is in accordance with fact.

1. There is no determination of the Catholic clergy of Ireland,—nor, as far as I know, of anyone else,—to convert Trinity College into a Catholic seminary ;

2. There consequently is no declaration of mine, explicit or implicit, in the matter ; and,

3. Reliance has not been placed by Mr. Plunket, in the House of Commons or elsewhere, upon any declaration of mine concerning any such determination.

Mr. Plunket, indeed, seems to have mistaken the drift of a statement made by me some years ago,—a statement, let me observe, from which, in the sense in which I made it, I have not in any way receded, and indeed never can recede. So far as I can judge from the newspaper reports of his speech, he seems to have interpreted as an avowal

of an intention to work for the overthrow of Trinity College, a declaration of mine that the one and only possible basis of settlement of the University question in Ireland is that of absolute equality between all sections of the population.¹

In his interpretation of what I said on the occasion in question, Mr. Plunket was altogether mistaken. But his mistake in this gives no ground for your alleging against him that he made himself responsible to the House of Commons for the ridiculous statements that the Catholic clergy of Ireland are determined to turn Trinity College into a Catholic seminary, and that there is evidence of this in a number of explicit declarations of mine.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

✠ WILLIAM J. WALSH,

Archbishop of Dublin.

[The preceding letter was published in *The Times* of the 26th of June, and on the next day *The Times* published the following letter from Mr. Plunket in reply :—]

HOUSE OF COMMONS,

June 26th, 1893

SIR,

Archbishop Walsh has, in a letter which you published this morning, alluded to me in very courteous terms, but at the same time in words which misrepresent, however unintentionally, some expressions I used in a speech which I made in the House of Commons on Wednesday last, and to which his Grace refers.

What I really said when commenting on the language of the Archbishop, which I quoted from *The Freeman's*

¹ See page 88.

Journal of January the 15th, 1886, was that it implied that "Trinity College must either be handed over for purposes of Catholic education, or must cease to exist—that it must be either confiscated or destroyed."

I do not desire now to enter further into this controversy than to say, with all due respect to the Archbishop, that this still appears to me to be the most natural construction that can be put upon the words he is reported to have used on the occasion in question.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

D. PLUNKET.

[Mr. Plunket, of course, was quite right in clearing himself of the responsibility of having ascribed to the Catholic priesthood, or to any member of it, a determination to convert Trinity College into an exclusively Catholic seminary. But, he seems to have overlooked the fact that it was *The Times* alone that sought to make him responsible for that ridiculous fiction.

Without in any way withdrawing the unjustifiable statement, now openly repudiated by Mr. Plunket, as to the "explicit declarations of Archbishop Walsh concerning the determination of the priesthood to convert Trinity College into an exclusively Catholic seminary," *The Times* fell back upon the new version of the fable, started by Mr. Plunket's letter of the 26th of June.

The sentence in which this evolution was gone through is worth preserving as an interesting illustration of *The Times'* controversial method when convicted of a misrepresentation in connection with Irish affairs. It was as follows:—

"Archbishop Walsh complained yesterday that we

misrepresented what Mr. Plunket said about the attitude of the Catholic clergy towards Trinity College. His complaint rests largely upon a private construction of words not intended to do more than generally describe the undoubted and avowed policy of the Irish priesthood.

"Mr. Plunket this morning supplies the answer,¹ and as his authority is accepted by Archbishop Walsh as unimpeachable,² we need only quote his own words.

"He tells us that what he understands Archbishop Walsh to have meant by a declaration which stands, though its author might like it forgotten, is that "Trinity College must either be handed over for the purposes of Catholic education or must cease to exist—that it must be either confiscated or destroyed."

The new version of the story thus definitely put forward by Mr. Plunket,—that the handing over of Trinity College for the purposes of Catholic education had been claimed at all events as an alternative, and, in fact, as the only alternative, to the confiscation or destruction of the College,—was dealt with in the following letter :—]

ARCHBISHOP'S HOUSE,

DUBLIN, 28th June, 1893.

SIR,

Your insertion in a leading article, and within inverted commas, of Mr. David Plunket's imaginative gloss upon a speech which was made by me some years ago, and in which I put forward a claim for the settlement of the Irish

¹ But Mr. Plunket's "answer" was a distinct repudiation of what had been ascribed to him by *The Times*, and had been distinctly protested against by me in my absolute confidence that Mr. Plunket could not possibly have said what was thus ascribed to him.

² Unimpeachable, certainly, upon any matter of fact testified to by Mr. Plunket as a fact within his personal knowledge, but, as was made very plain in the course of this correspondence, by no means to be set up as infallible on a point of interpretation.

University question "on the broad and level ground of full and absolute equality,"¹ makes it, I regret, necessary for me to trouble you with another letter.

As equality in the matter of education necessarily implies equality in the matter of University education, my speech, which Mr. Plunket has undertaken to interpret, dealt expressly with the case of Trinity College. Mr. Plunket considers that "*the most natural construction that can be put upon my words* in reference to that institution is, that Trinity College must either be handed over for purposes of Catholic education, or must cease to exist;" in other words, that Trinity College "must be either confiscated or destroyed."

How the proposal of an alternative so preposterous—preposterous, as it seems to me, in both its members—can be evolved out of a claim for the settlement of the University question "on the open and level ground of full and absolute equality," passes, I must confess, my powers of comprehension.

One thing, at all events, is very clearly brought out by Mr. Plunket's hermeneutical achievement. We have in it a plain revelation of his mental attitude on the subject of Irish University education.

Mr. Plunket seems altogether to fail to grasp the distinction between Trinity College as a seat of learning and Trinity College as the embodiment of what still remains in Ireland of the old system of Protestant ascendancy.

It is now recognised, all but universally, by British statesmen, that the Catholics of Ireland still have a serious grievance in this matter of University education. The

¹ See pages 312, 313.

² See pages 311, 312.

fact, then, has to be faced that this grievance cannot be removed except in one of two ways—the demolition of the system of University education at present maintained by the State in Ireland, or the completion of that system by the setting up within it of at least one other institution, whether it be a College or a University, Catholic, in the sense in which Trinity College is Protestant.

Everything that I have ever said or written upon the subject of Trinity College may be summed up in this—that equality can be reached only in one of two ways, “levelling up” or “levelling down;”—“levelling down,” in the sense of depriving our Protestant fellow-countrymen of the splendid advantages now fully open to them in Trinity College; or “levelling up,” in the sense of constituting a new educational body, which will for us be as free from objection on religious and conscientious grounds as Trinity College is for them. I at least have never been able to devise any possible middle course.

Those, then, are my two alternatives. As for the “handing over” of Trinity College for the purposes of Catholic education, it is a proceeding that I can say without hesitation, never was recommended, never was suggested, never was contemplated, by me. I should be glad to know of what words of mine Mr. Plunket has ventured to make the statement that a demand for the adoption of so outrageous a policy enters into “the most natural construction,”—or indeed into any rational construction,—that can be put upon them.

I am Sir,

Your faithful servant.

✠ WILLIAM J. WALSH,

Archbishop of Dublin.

[The preceding letter was published in *The Times* of the 3rd of July. It was replied to as follows by Mr. Plunket :—]

HOUSE OF COMMONS,
July 3rd, 1893.

SIR,

Though I am loathe to trouble you further on the subject of the quotation from Archbishop Walsh's speech at Thurles in 1886, to the explanation of which he returns in his letter which you have published this morning, I must beg you to allow me to meet as far as I can the desire expressed by his Grace when he says, "I should like to know on what words of mine Mr. Plunket has ventured [!] to make the statement of which he complains; and I cannot do so better or more briefly than by merely asking you to print again this one brief extract from the quotation in question, the accuracy of which, as I understand, Dr. Walsh does not deny :—

"For so long as that central fortress of the education that is not Catholic (that is, Trinity College, Dublin) is allowed to stand, as it has now so long stood, in the very foremost position, and to occupy the most glorious site in our Catholic city of Dublin, so long will it be impossible for any statesman, be he English or Irish, to deal with this great question on the only ground upon which University reform in Ireland can be regarded as satisfactory or even as entitled to acquiescence—the open and level ground of full and absolute equity for the Catholics of Ireland.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

D. PLUNKET.

[This was replied to as follows, and the reply closed the correspondence :—]

ARCHBISHOP'S HOUSE,
DUBLIN, 5th July, 1893.

SIR,

I am surprised at the line of tactics on which Mr. David Plunket now seems to rely.

In his letter published in *The Times* of yesterday, he professes to make good the statement which he recently made in the House of Commons, openly imputing to me, a design for the confiscation of Trinity College, Dublin. But whilst purporting in that letter to give proof of the truth of his statement, Mr. Plunket ingenuously suppresses all reference to what that statement really was. In this way he made it possible to quote, as if it were in sustainment of his statement, a passage from a reported speech of mine, which is wholly irrelevant to the matter in hand.

Such tactics can be met in one way only. Mr. Plunket, by having recourse to them, has made it necessary that I should re-state, in his own words, the offensive, and as is now evident, utterly groundless, charge which he has set in circulation against me, and which, though unable to produce a scrap of evidence in support of it, and with full knowledge that it has been most explicitly repudiated by me, he still refuses to withdraw.

When I first saw it attributed to Mr. Plunket, in your editorial columns, that he had represented me as advocating a policy involving the "confiscation" of Trinity College, or, in other words, the transfer of that great Protestant institution to Catholics "for the purposes of Catholic education," I felt assured that no such charge had been made against me by Mr. Plunket. Nothing of the kind, I should observe, was to be found in *The*

Times' report, which was a very full one, of Mr. Plunket's speech.

Mr. Plunket, however, did not seem to wish to be relieved from responsibility in the matter. Whilst slightly modifying the form of the accusation, putting it as a matter of "construction" rather than of actual words of mine, he at once indeed accepted the full responsibility of it. I now see that it would not have been possible for him to have shirked that responsibility. The authorized report of the debate of the 21st of June has been published. I transcribe from it the singularly definite words in which Mr. Plunket formulated his slanderous charge against me—

"The transformation of Trinity College into a place of Catholic teaching, or its abolition."¹

And again :—

"Confiscation or destruction. This is the doom pronounced by this haughty Prelate. I ask this Imperial Parliament will they hand over Trinity College to such a master?"

In a letter which you were so good as to publish for me a few days ago, I expressed a wish to know on what words of mine Mr. Plunket based this accusation against me. He has now replied by quoting, without note or comment, a passage from a speech of mine which is wholly irrelevant to the issue, except in so far as it is destructive of the position which Mr. Plunket has so unaccountably been led into taking up.

In that speech (1) I protested, indeed, against the folly of the assumption that the Irish University question could be regarded as settled whilst Trinity College continued in any degree to stand in our midst as a "citadel of ascendancy."

¹ See pages 314, 315.

I also (2) insisted that "the only ground on which University reform in Ireland can be regarded as satisfactory, or even as entitled to acquiescence," is "the open and level ground of full and absolute equality for the Catholics of Ireland."

And (3), as is plain from the passage selected by Mr. Plunket himself for quotation, I did not, directly or indirectly, either by statement or by implication, suggest that the College should be "confiscated," or "handed over for the purposes of Catholic education."

I did not, in fact, suggest that Trinity College should be interfered with in any way, except, of course, in so far as it would necessarily be deprived of the exclusive privilege which it has held in Dublin now for over three centuries, a privilege which it must continue to hold until there is established a new educational body which,—in point of every facility for the work of education, that can be conferred upon it by the public authority,—will be for the Catholic body in Ireland what Trinity College is for our Protestant fellow-countrymen.¹

Mr. Plunket, I regret to say, has seen no impropriety in omitting from his quotation from my speech the words in which I expressly stated that I was speaking of Trinity College as "a citadel of ascendancy,"—words, the omission of which from any quotation from that speech is sufficient to stamp the quotation as disingenuous and unfair.

In conclusion, I will only add that Mr. Plunket would have shown more consistency of astuteness in his manipulation of what I said if he had also omitted from his quotation the closing words of the passage. To many who might otherwise have read his letter with satisfaction, it must have been painfully evident that the quotation of

¹ See page 45, and the pages there referred to in *footnote 4*.

those words in which I insisted upon the principle of "absolute equality" as the only possible basis of a satisfactory settlement of the question, was utterly destructive of the fiction that what I insisted upon was to have the great Protestant¹ educational institution of the country "confiscated" and "handed over for purposes of Catholic education."

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

✠ WILLIAM J. WALSH,
Archbishop of Dublin.

¹ See page 43, and the pages there referred to in footnote 1.

XXVII.

QUEEN'S COLLEGE, BELFAST: A SERIES OF
QUESTIONABLE TRANSACTIONS.

(1889—1894.)

QUEEN'S COLLEGE, BELFAST: A SERIES OF QUESTIONABLE TRANSACTIONS.

(1889—1894.)

[It is not very easy to understand how the matters dealt with in this section have escaped notice in Parliament.

Year after year, the various items of expenditure referred to were brought formally under the cognisance of the House of Commons, the object of the expenditure, in each case, being distinctly stated in the "Estimates," or in the "Appropriation Account," for the year.¹]

Mr. Balfour's speech at Partick, in December, 1889, largely quoted from in a previous section of this volume,² contained a statement to which considerable importance was attached at the time, as it was looked upon as indicating that the obstinacy of the advocates of the so-called "non-sectarian" system in University education in Ireland in resisting every claim for the public recognition of any other system than their own,³ had at length received a decisive check.

For a long series of years, the officials of Queen's College, Belfast, had, with singular boldness, kept up a

¹ The "Appropriation Account" is a statement submitted to Parliament some time after the close of each financial year. It shows the actual expenditure under each head for which Parliament had previously voted a sum specified in the "Estimates," for the year.

The amount of the estimated expenditure is not unfrequently exceeded. No such extra expenditure can be made without the sanction of the Treasury. The reasons of the additional outlay are put before Parliament in the "Appropriation Account."

² See page 193.

³ See pages 164-166, and 209-213.

claim for a still more copious outpouring of the public money in favour of that College. They had done this as if no importance whatever was to be attached to the fact that about £10,000 a year of public money was already being expended upon the College,—this being the amount expended upon each of the three Colleges of that costly system, the advocates of which have so long succeeded in having it maintained for them at the public expense, and in exclusive possession of the field of State-endowed University education in Ireland. All this the Belfast officials simply ignored, whilst they kept up their claim for additional grants to be expended upon the erection and fitting-up of additional buildings. But now at length it was publicly notified to them by a responsible Minister of the Crown that, however strong their claim to some additional State aid might be on the score of the good work undoubtedly being done by their College, there was another claim, which was of a far more pressing nature,—the claim of the Catholics of Ireland, that some State provision should be made for the higher education of Catholics on lines consistent with their religious convictions.¹

This was one of the most striking points of Mr. Balfour's speech. Not content with stating, with characteristic clearness and force, the claim of the Catholics of Ireland in the matter of higher education, he put it plainly before his Scottish audience that the concession of that claim had to be regarded as an indispensable preliminary to the undertaking of the additional expenditure which was so loudly called for by the officials of Queen's College, Belfast.

¹See pages 30-33 ; and 153-164.

Mr. Balfour's words on this point, already quoted,¹ may usefully be repeated here :—

“Recollect that in these days, University education cannot be made the cheap thing it used to be many years ago.

“There was a time when all that you required to constitute a University was a water-tight roof, a certain number of teachers, a certain number of students, a few benches, and some blackboards. But all that has been changed by the advance of medical and scientific training.

“I speak in the presence of one of the greatest authorities upon this point [Sir William Thomson, now Lord Kelvin], and I think he will bear me out in saying that we in England and Scotland, and in Ireland, are far behind some of our continental brethren in our public recognition of the fact, that in order to teach science and medicine properly, you require a most costly equipment.

“That costly equipment I do not believe will be provided, or can be provided, by the Roman Catholic population of Ireland, and my desire is to help them to provide it, *and not to help them only, but to help, for example, Queen's College, Belfast.*”

To bring out the full significance of this reference of Mr. Balfour's to the Belfast Queen's College, it is necessary here to deal somewhat in detail with the application for the expenditure of further large sums of money upon the medical and other scientific departments of the Belfast Queen's College, which, for a long series of years previous to the delivery of the Partick speech, had formed a leading feature of the annual Reports of the President of the College.

The cry of neglected
Belfast. This application was put forward, year after year, beginning at least as far back as 1880. The then President, Dr. Porter, in his Report presented in that year, enumerated, amongst the “urgent wants” of the College,

¹ See pages 200, 201

new Class-rooms and a new Laboratory in the department of Chemistry, a Physical and Engineering Laboratory, with sundry other similar additions to the College buildings. Year after year, the same points continued to be pressed. After a time, Dr. Porter's Reports began to mention that plans and specifications for the requisite enlargements and additions had been prepared—of course at the public expense—by the Board of Works. Still, successive Ministries very naturally shrank from the responsibility of asking Parliament for further funds for Queen's College purposes, whilst the claim of the Catholics of Ireland, that some provision should be made for University education under a system that would be not merely nominally but really open to them, remained unsatisfied.

The claim from Belfast, however, continued to be pressed with exemplary persistence. In the Report for 1883-84, we find the pathetic lament, "Belfast appears to be overlooked or forgotten"! In the Report for the following year, not merely is the old claim kept up, but the catalogue of wants to be supplied is notably extended. The plans and specifications are again referred to, and the information is added that the estimated cost of the requisite works was "only" about £8,000.

Throughout all this period, the importance of the additional help claimed for the College, in its bearing upon the advancement of the staple industries, and most especially of the linen trade, of the North of Ireland, is strongly insisted upon. One Report speaks of "the vital necessity of technical education on a sound scientific basis," and it is added that "nowhere is that necessity felt more keenly than among the merchants

State aid for the
manufacturers
of Ulster.

and manufacturers of Ulster." But it never seems to have occurred, either to those enterprising merchants and manufacturers, or to the President of the College that is supported for them, in their midst, at the public expense, that for a prosperous, wealthy, and self-reliant community it was far from creditable that even the sum of £8,000, —which in the circumstances would be a profitable commercial investment,—could not be raised by private effort, or without continued and almost frantic appeals to the Government of the country to provide the money for them from the public purse.

In Dr. Porter's last Report, presented in July, 1888, the following passages occur :—

"The Physical, Histological, and Biological Laboratories are miserably insufficient.

"The Chemical Laboratory is so small . . . that the Professors . . . are unable to carry on their most important educational work with that efficiency and complete success after which they most energetically strive. . . .

"Practical training in several departments of science is now absolutely necessary, not only to obtain high-class University degrees, but to fit young men for the business of life. Queen's College ought to be fully equipped. It is situated in a town growing with amazing rapidity, filled and surrounded by great manufactories which form the chief source of the wealth and prosperity of Ulster."

Dr. Porter then went on to comment
Self-help? upon the "short-sighted policy" of withholding the small grant of £8,000, for want of which the College, he said, was "enfeebled" and "starved." Throughout, he treats it as a sort of first principle that, notwithstanding all the "wealth and prosperity of Ulster," not even this comparatively small sum of £8,000 could be had, however urgently it was needed in the interests of the College, unless it could be obtained in the form of a Government grant!

A new exponent of
the old claim.

Dr. Porter's successor, Dr. Hamilton, the present President of the College, in his first Report, presented in July, 1889, renewed the long-standing complaint.

After quoting a number of passages from Dr. Porter's annual Reports, Dr. Hamilton called attention to the plans that had been prepared several years before,¹ and he pointed out, almost in the words of his predecessor,² that the cost of the works in question would be "only some £8,000."

Dr. Hamilton then continued :—

"Notwithstanding the late President's repeated and urgent representations . . . scarcely anything has been done to relieve the pressure under which our work is carried on. . . .

"I cannot too strongly emphasize the injury which the interests of learning here are suffering through this want of proper accommodation ; nor can I too strenuously urge upon your Majesty's Government, and upon all interested in the promotion of learning in the North of Ireland, the clamant necessity which exists for taking steps to have the very small addition which is required provided at the earliest possible period.

"It is surely a pity that such an institution as this, which has proved itself so capable of promoting the highest education of the youth of this flourishing and rapidly increasing city, and of the whole Province of Ulster, should be crippled from year to year . . . for lack of an expenditure of some £8,000 or £9,000."

Mr. Balfour's
Partick speech.

It was within a few months after the presentation of this Report, that Mr. Balfour's Partick speech was delivered.

Thus the point of Mr. Balfour's reference to the help that should be given to the Catholics of Ireland, as a "condition precedent" to the making of the further grants that were looked for in the interests of the Queen's College, Belfast, can be fully appreciated.

¹ See page 336.

² *Ibid.*

Speaking of Belfast, Mr. Balfour said :—

“ I had a letter the other day from the head of that College.

“ He pointed out to me, and pointed out to me truly, that, good as the work was which they were doing, they required more public help before they could effectively carry out all the work which they were capable of doing.

“ I had to reply to him that I was most anxious to do something for Belfast, and the great Presbyterian interests which are involved in Belfast, but that it was *absolutely impossible for me*, with decency, to go to the House of Commons and say, ‘ I want three or four thousand a year more for the Presbyterians in Queen’s College, Belfast,’ *unless I accompany that with some proposal to meet the even greater necessities of the Roman Catholic population in the rest of Ireland.*” ¹

A satisfactory
declaration.

This very naturally was regarded by the general public as a binding declaration, that so long as the Catholic claim remained unsatisfied, the Government

should feel constrained to turn a deaf ear to the persistent appeal from Belfast for a further expenditure of public money.

It was noted that Mr. Balfour spoke with special reference to the needs of the Belfast College in the matter of equipment in its medical and other scientific departments. His declaration on the point was so satisfactory in its directness, that it left no room even for a suspicion that his words were not to be made good. Yet, not many months had passed, until—without an intimation of any kind having been given to the public that the line of policy indicated by Mr. Balfour’s speech was to be departed from,—everything that

A curious
change of
front.

Belfast had for years been clamouring for was granted, whilst nothing whatever was

done towards meeting that claim which Mr. Balfour, with every indication of sympathy, had spoken of as based upon “ the even greater necessities ” of the Catholics of

¹ See page 201.

Ireland, a claim which he had therefore so emphatically declared should come first in order of settlement.

The Belfast claim pressed. Dr. Hamilton's next Report, issued not many months after the delivery of Mr. Balfour's speech, showed that he, at all events, was in no way deterred from pressing his demands by anything that Mr. Balfour had said. The following is an extract from this Report, presented in June, 1890 :—

"I have only further to report that the College continues seriously to suffer from the want of additional buildings and equipments.

"Application has been repeatedly and urgently made for them without effect, while the increase in the number of our students, and the continually growing demands of modern education,¹ render them more indispensable every year. . . They should unquestionably be supplied, if this institution is to be such a fully-equipped College as the North of Ireland requires, and ought to have.² . . .

"In the matter of buildings, the College needs very considerable additions to its equipment. As has frequently been pointed out, the entire Laboratory accommodation requires to be remodelled and much enlarged. The Chemical Laboratory is scandalously inadequate ; we have no proper accommodation, either for the Biological Laboratory, or the Physical, and that for the Histological is quite insufficient. . .

"The North of Ireland ought to have³ a College second to none in the Kingdom in equipments and appliances, as its sons have proved themselves to be second to none in ability and capacity.

"I feel it to be my duty to state my emphatic conviction once more, that the interests of higher education among us are suffering most seriously from the delay in supplying the wants to which I have referred."

Still the inhabitants of the "flourishing, and rapidly

¹ See Mr. Balfour's speech, pages 200, 201.

² Dr. Hamilton plainly recognised no distinction between "ought to have," and "ought to have without paying for it," though the distinction was a very pertinent one, in view of all the circumstances of the case.

³ See the preceding footnote.

increasing city" held back, and, as the event proved, they acted wisely. For, before the time came round for the President of the College to present his next annual Report, the "greater necessities" of higher Catholic education had been wholly disregarded, and the persistence of the Belfast President in his demands upon the public purse had been rewarded with success.

The Partick
policy
abandoned.

Dr. Hamilton's Report for the Session
1890-91, presented in July, 1891, contains
the following :—

"The College buildings and grounds . . . have been maintained in good order during the year.

"The Examination Hall has been heated by a system of hot-water pipes, to the greatly increased comfort of all who use it. The Histological Laboratory has been enlarged and otherwise altered. . .

"The Lords Commissioners of the Treasury have been pleased, I am happy to say, to sanction a grant towards the providing of a still greater boon, viz., the erection of a new set of Chemical Laboratories and Practical Class-rooms, with the necessary adjuncts. . .

"The want of those buildings has been so long and so keenly felt, that I cannot but confidently anticipate that their erection will prove to be the inauguration of a new era in the history of our School of Chemistry."

In the Parliamentary "Estimates" for 1891-92,—issued, for the information of Members of Parliament and of the public, in January, 1891, under the head, "Public Works and Buildings, Ireland : New Works and Alterations," the following item appears :—

"QUEEN'S COLLEGE, BELFAST :—

"Improvement of Schools £2,500."

This evidently was the grant for the new Chemical Laboratories and Class-rooms, for which Dr. Hamilton so gratefully expressed his acknowledgments in his Report in the following July.

Further
demands.

Towards the close of this Report, emboldened by his success so far, Dr. Hamilton still further pressed his demands upon the public purse :—

“ In former Reports, I have called attention so specifically to the various wants of the College,¹ that I feel it unnecessary to recapitulate them here.

“ It requires more buildings, several additional Chairs, and enlarged equipments of various kinds.

“ I can only trust that these will be granted ere long.”

This is followed by an earnest appeal to “ the State,” to do “ its part (!) generously to this great institution.” By this time, evidently, all recollection of Mr. Balfour’s Partick speech had ceased to trouble the Belfast President.

From the “ Estimates ” for the following year, 1892-93, issued in February, 1892, it may be seen that the £2,500 voted in the preceding year² represented only a portion of the cost of the works that had, so far, been sanctioned. At this stage, the new building is somewhat more fully described in the Parliamentary Estimates, the entry under the heading, “ New Works and Alterations: Queen’s College, Belfast,” now being “ Chemical Laboratory.” The “ total estimated cost ” is stated as £4,134, and the amount to be voted that year, £3,134. This vote, however, includes a revote of £1,600,—an unexpended balance³ of the £2,500 voted in the previous

¹ See pages 338-340.

² See page 341.

³ It may not be superfluous to explain that sums voted by Parliament towards the expenses of any Department,—as, for instance, the Board of Public Works,—have to be returned to the Treasury unless they have been actually expended by the 31st of March, the last day of the financial year for which they have been voted. They will then be put before the House of Commons to be “ re-voted,” for the next financial year.

year,—so that the net total amount provided, so far,¹ was £4,034.

But, in the view of the case taken by the Belfast College officials, the main interest of the case had shifted from the grant of £4,134, already secured. Their attention at this stage was concentrated upon the further grant which their initial success now emboldened them to press for with redoubled vigour. In the President's Report for the Session 1891-92, presented in July, 1892, we find the following :—

The Further claims pressed.

“Extensive additions to our buildings are still required.

“I have, on several occasions, urged the necessity of providing (a) a Biological Laboratory, (b) a Physical Laboratory, and (c) such an addition to the Natural History Museum as would afford accommodation for the storage and exhibition of a large quantity of valuable and important specimens of various kinds for the proper keeping of which we have now no adequate space.

“I cannot too strongly urge again the provision, at as early a date as possible, of this much-needed accommodation.

Even all this does not exhaust the demands. For, the President continues :—

“But these are, by no means, all the additions to our buildings that we require.

“The appointment of the Lecturer in Pathology, and of the proposed Dunville Lecturer on Physiology, will necessitate, if their labours are to be pursued to the utmost advantage, a very considerable addition to the existing Medical Buildings.

“The progress of the College, the marked advances of scientific and general culture in our time,² and the rapid growth of Belfast, . . . all render a greatly increased equipment absolutely imperative.”

This Report is dated July, 1892. In the Parliamentary Estimates, however, for the next financial year, 1893-94,

¹ The remaining £100 of the estimated cost was provided for in the Estimates for the following financial year.

² See pages 200, 201.

printed in February, 1893, provision was made only for the completion of the Chemical Laboratory, by a vote to cover the balance of £4,134, the expenditure on that building, as originally estimated, and no further special vote in favour of the College was asked for.

Exemplary
persistence.

The President, therefore, returned to the subject in his Report for the Session 1892-93, presented in July, 1893.

He began by the following announcement :—

“During the year some special works have been executed in the College buildings.

“The gas-lighting of the Examination Hall and Outer Hall has been entirely remodelled, with the result that both are now brilliantly lighted.

“The Gymnasium has been re-floored, and refitted, and the Ball-court put into thorough order.”

“Maintenance,
repairs, and current
charges.”

As to all this, lest it may seem inconsistent with my statement that no special vote for additional buildings in the Belfast College appeared on the Parliamentary Estimates for 1893-94, I should, perhaps, explain that in the Estimates for every year,—under the heading, “Public Works and Buildings, Ireland,”—there are three standing entries, one for each of the three Queen's Colleges, under which very considerable sums are voted every year for the “maintenance,” “repairs,” and other “current charges,” of these costly institutions.

It may be useful to exhibit in tabular form the various amounts that were thus voted in ordinary course during the last nine years. Thus it will be seen that, quite independently of any exceptional extra vote—such as the vote of £4,134, for the Laboratory and other works connected with the department of Chemistry, in Belfast,

with which I have dealt in the preceding pages,¹—there always were available abundant funds for works such as those spoken of by Dr. Hamilton in the passage I have quoted from his Report for the Session 1892-93. The figures are as follows :—

AMOUNT PROVIDED FOR IN THE PARLIAMENTARY ESTIMATES FROM 1888-89 TO 1896-97, FOR THE “MAINTENANCE, REPAIRS, AND OTHER CURRENT CHARGES” OF THE THREE QUEEN’S COLLEGES.

YEAR	QUEEN’S COLLEGE			Total, three Queen’s Colleges
	Belfast	Cork	Galway	
	£	£	£	£
1888-89	346	761	465	1,572
1889-90	484	642	381	1,507
1890-91	404	757	567	1,728
1891-92	290	890	445	1,625
1892-93	409	712	318	1,439
1893-94	430	710	438	1,578
1894-95	507	679	530	1,786
1895-96	739	703	605	2,047
1896-97	582	660	520	1,762
TOTALS	£4,191	£6,514	£4,269	£14,974

The further claims still further pressed. In this Report for the Session 1892-93, after referring to the improvements effected during the year by means of the ordinary vote for “maintenance, repairs, and current charges,” Dr. Hamilton once more renewed his claim for the further additional buildings which had been so persistently clamoured for in the successive annual Reports of the College for so many years :—

“A portion of the new building for the accommodation of the School of Chemistry, to which I referred in my last annual Report,² has been in progress during the year. . .

“I may be allowed to express the earnest hope, that not only will it

¹ See pages 341-344.

² See page 341.

soon be available for the purposes for which it is intended, but that the remainder of the building, as designed by the Board of Works,¹ will be proceeded with at an early date."

A little further on, he says:—

"While we are thus adding to our buildings, it is my duty to state that the College is yet very far from being properly equipped in this respect. . .

"It most urgently and specially needs, just now, Laboratories in various departments. The necessity for a Biological Laboratory I have again and again urged. A properly constructed and properly Physical Laboratory is also much required. A complete Laboratory for the department of Pathology ought also to be provided . . . and the need of a thoroughly-equipped Physiological Laboratory, is rendered more pressing than ever, by the institution of the new Chair on that subject.

"Then, again, the Natural History Museum urgently needs enlargement, and the department of Engineering requires a workshop fitted with proper apparatus for the teaching of Mechanical Engineering.

"All that I can do in this Report is to call attention, in the strongest and most emphatic manner in my power, to the pressing necessity which exists for meeting these wants at the very earliest possible period."

The further claims
conceded.

This Report is dated July, 1893, and the Parliamentary Estimates for the next financial year 1894-95, issued in February, 1894, gave evidence of a further triumph of Dr. Hamilton's persistence. For, provision is made in them for the further buildings that had been described in detail in the previous year's issue of his annual statement of claim.

The purpose of this further vote, as stated in the Estimates, was the erection of Physiological and Pathological Laboratories. The sum required for the year 1894-95 was only £500. But there is the further state-

¹ See page 336.

ment that this was only a first instalment, and that the total estimated cost of the works was £2,500.¹

But even this is not all. As anyone familiar with the working of the system of the Public Accounts is aware, there is published, each year, a very important volume known as the "Appropriation Account." This volume deals with the actual expenditure, as distinct from the merely estimated expenditure, of the preceding year. It is, in fact, the only accessible source of definite information as to how the public money has been spent.

Now the Appropriation Account for the financial year 1893-94, discloses the highly important fact that, whereas the estimated expenditure of the works originally sanctioned in the Belfast College in connection with the department of Chemistry, was, as we have seen, £4,134, the actual expenditure on those works up to that date had amounted to £5,219 15s. 9d.—an excess of over £1,000. And the Appropriation Account for the year 1894-95, within which the building was completed, shows that the total expenditure upon it amounted to £5,342 6s. 11d.—that is, £1,208 6s. 11d. in excess of the original estimate.

The Report published in the Appropriation Account states that this additional expenditure was sanctioned by an order from the Treasury, dated the 24th June, 1893.

At this point, it may be well to recall to mind Mr. Balfour's statement at Partick that it was "absolutely impossible" for him with decency to go to the House of Commons, "and say, 'I want three or four thousand a

¹ The further vote of £2,000, required to complete the estimated expenditure on this second set of additional buildings, was obtained in the Parliamentary votes for 1895-6.

year more for the Presbyterians in Queen's College, Belfast,' " unless he accompanied that "with some proposal to meet the even greater necessities of the Roman Catholic population of the rest of Ireland."¹ Yet, in the face of all this, although nothing whatever was done, or was even attempted to be done, to provide for the admitted " necessities " of the Catholics of Ireland, the Irish Government had made no scruple of going to the House of Commons, and obtaining sanction, within the three years, 1891-2, 1892-3, and 1893-4, for an additional expenditure of £7,842 6s. 11*d.*,—with such further sum as the extra expenditure on the buildings recently undertaken at an estimated cost of £2,500 may amount to²—on the erection of additional buildings in the Belfast Queen's College.

" Governing Ireland
according to
Irish ideas."

It is important here to observe the date of this last transaction. The Estimates by which the House of Commons was pledged to this further expenditure of £2,500, were those for the financial year 1894-5. These Estimates were issued in January, 1894; and, as they were the second Annual Estimates presented to Parliament by the Liberal Ministry, the full responsibility for this further departure from the sound line of policy laid down by Mr. Balfour in his Partick speech, rests upon those somewhat inconsistent advocates of the principle of governing Ireland according to Irish ideas.

Naturally enough, the triumph achieved for the College was recorded in some jubilant paragraphs in the Presi-

¹ See page 201.

² If the extra charge be in the same proportion to the estimated cost as on the former occasion, this second set of additional buildings will cost £3,230. This will bring the total expenditure on these two sets of additional buildings—undertaken by the Irish Government, for the development of the work of the Belfast Queen's College, since the date of Mr. Balfour's speech at Partick,—up to £8,572.

dent's next Report, for the Session 1893-94. These were as follows :—

“ I am happy to be able to give a more favourable account than it has hitherto been in my power to render, of the equipment of those scientific departments of the College in which practical teaching is requisite. . . . Our wants in this respect are being gradually supplied. . . .

“ One of our most urgent needs was that of Chemical Laboratories, constructed and equipped in accordance with the present advanced condition of chemical science. I have now the satisfaction of reporting that in April last a new block of buildings, erected by the Board of Works for this purpose, was opened, which affords such accommodation for the study of Chemistry as very few Colleges can boast of possessing. . . .

“ The accommodation provided in the Chemical buildings is, I need hardly say, of the greatest value, not only from the strictly academic point of view, but in the interests of the great manufacturing community in which the College is placed¹ . . . I trust that the people of Belfast and Ulster will value and profit by the unrivalled facilities for instruction in Chemistry which the College is now enabled to place at their doors.

“ A Pharmaceutical Laboratory has also been opened during the year . . .

“ Regarding two other Laboratories, for practical instruction in Physiology and Pathology, I have the pleasure of stating that the Lords of Your Majesty's Treasury have, at my request, most kindly sanctioned the immediate commencement of a new building for the purpose . . .

“ It will thus be seen that the College has made a large advance during the year, in the various scientific departments, towards fully equipping itself with those faculties for practical work and teaching which are imperatively demanded in the present day.”²

This portion of Dr. Hamilton's Report contains a further passage which furnishes a strange commentary upon the words of hopeful promise to the Catholics of Ireland spoken by Mr. Balfour at Partick.

Mr. Balfour there spoke of the exacting demands of

¹ See pages 336, 337,

² See pages 201, 202.

modern science as furnishing a strong ground for maintaining it to be the duty of the State to provide funds for the necessary equipment of a system of University education for the Catholics of Ireland. And he emphasized his recognition of the justice of the Catholic claims in this matter by declaring that—utterly unaided as they were by the State in the department of scientific education—the establishment of an effective provision to meet their wants should be regarded as a condition precedent to the granting of the further provision that was sought for by the President of the Queen's College, Belfast.

All this seemed to have been so completely forgotten, that Dr. Hamilton felt free to write as follows of the Belfast College in his Report for the Session 1893-94 :—

“ It will thus be seen that the College has made a large advance during the year, in the various scientific departments, towards fully equipping itself with those facilities for practical work and teaching, which are imperatively demanded in the present day. In those closing years of the nineteenth century, in proportion as the work of the scientific investigator has become more subtle and exact, and as he requires for that work instruments of precision, such as were unknown to our fathers, he must be provided with the requisite facilities and appliances, both for those researches by which alone these advances can be made, and for the instruction of the younger generation, whom it is his duty to imbue with the spirit, and instruct in the methods, of modern science.¹

“ It were the most short-sighted of all policies to deny them to him, and hence I am rejoiced to chronicle our marked progress in this direction—a progress, the continuance of which it will, I hope, be my privilege year after year to report.”

No one surely will advocate the adoption of any such short-sighted policy as is justly reprobated by Dr. Hamilton in the closing words of this passage from his Report. But it is to be hoped that some means may be found of bringing the attention of Parliament to bear upon the very peculiar

¹ See pages 201, 202.

circumstances¹ in which the important concessions so gratefully recorded by Dr. Hamilton have been made.²

It is also to be hoped that some means may be found of calling attention in Parliament to the consideration,

The Catholic
claim.

which, just now, will surely be recognised as a more than commonly weighty one, that the fact of those concessions having been made has very notably reinforced our claim,³ the already conclusive force of which was frankly recognised by Mr. Balfour in 1889.

Mr. Balfour's outspoken declaration on that occasion put back the claims of Queen's College, Belfast, into the second place. If those claims have since been conceded, on what plea is it possible to justify any further delay—to say nothing of the delay that has already taken place—in dealing with that claim to which, now over six years ago, he justly accorded precedence, as based upon "the even greater necessities of the Roman Catholic population" of Ireland?

¹ See page 202.

² See also page 447.

³ *Ibid.*



XXVIII

RESOLUTIONS OF THE IRISH BISHOPS ON
THE EDUCATION QUESTION.

(October 16th, 1895.)



RESOLUTIONS OF THE IRISH BISHOPS ON THE EDUCATION QUESTION.

(*October 16th, 1895.*)

[The following Resolutions in reference to Irish Education in its various branches were adopted by the Irish Bishops at a General Meeting of their body on the 16th of October, 1895.

Advantage is taken of this opportunity to republish these important Resolutions.]

RESOLVED—That we renew the protests which the Bishops of Ireland have long been making against the great injustice with which we Catholics are treated in educational matters.

In the first place, with reference to University Education, we have to complain that while the wants of other religious bodies are amply, and even lavishly, supplied, we, who are the immense majority of the population, are condemned to the intellectual and material loss which the deprivation of higher culture entails on a whole nation, unless we consent to accept it on conditions from which our consciences revolt.

This position of inferiority is rendered more difficult by the fact that we, the Catholics of Ireland, although the vast majority in numbers, are by far the poorest portion of the population. In other countries, as in England, the land is held by those who profess, on the whole, the same religion as the people. But with us, it is not so. The whole island is practically owned by the minority who

differ from us in religion, and, consequently, we are unable by private benevolence to supply this want of State endowment.

Yet, the efforts which the Catholics of Ireland have made in their poverty, and their persistence in the face of great discouragement, and through every phase of political change, in pressing their demands, are sufficient to prove their earnestness and the importance which they attach to the settlement of this question.

As an illustration of the continuous protests of the Bishops of Ireland, and as a full and accurate expression of our views at the present time, we now re-publish the resolutions adopted by us on several previous occasions:—

I.

As regards University Education, we renew the often-repeated protests of the Catholic Bishops, clergy, and people of Ireland, against the unfair and oppressive system of higher education, established and maintained in Ireland by State endowments in the interests of non-Catholics, and to the grave social detriment of Catholics.

Catholics demand equality in University, as well as in Intermediate and Primary Education, with their non-Catholic fellow-subjects, in so far as those systems are sustained and endowed by the State. They demand that their educational grievances, which have extended over three hundred years, and have been a constant, ever-growing source of discontent, be at length redressed ; and they appeal to all sections of Parliament, without distinction of political parties, to legislate promptly, and in a just and generous spirit, in this all-important matter.

We abstain from formulating the University system

which would best satisfy our claims. We will merely observe that these would be satisfied substantially:—

(a) By the establishment and endowment in an exclusively Catholic, or in a common University, of one or more Colleges conducted on purely Catholic principles, and, at the same time, fully participating in all the privileges and emoluments enjoyed by other Colleges of whatsoever denomination or character ;

(b) By admitting the students of such Catholic Colleges, equally with the students of non-Catholic Colleges, to University honours, prizes, and other advantages ; and

(c) By securing to Catholics, in the Senate or other supreme University Council of a common University, should such be established, an adequate number of representatives enjoying the confidence of the Catholic body.¹

II.

As to the system of Intermediate Education, it is keenly felt as unfair to Catholics, that the Catholic members are in a minority on the Intermediate Education Board.

This unequal treatment of the Catholic body is the more striking and the more obviously indefensible, inasmuch as the pupils of the Catholic schools have for many years carried off far more than 50 per cent of the Prizes, Exhibitions, and Medals awarded by the Intermediate Education Board.

III.

On the subject of Primary Education, we beg especially to call attention to two grievances, which we have repeatedly complained of, individually and at our meetings, and which have been specially set forth in several Official

¹ See pages 91-93 ; and 119, 120.

Reports, notably in the Report of the Powis Commission of 1868-70, and in the Report for 1886-7 of the Educational Endowments (Ireland) Commission, as urgently calling for reform.

We renew the claim so frequently put forward by us for the adoption of the recommendation made in the report of the Powis Committee, in reference to the removal of restrictions upon religious freedom in schools that are attended exclusively by Catholic or by Protestant children, in districts where sufficient school accommodation is provided for all the children, in separate schools under Catholic or Protestant management respectively.

We have also to complain that the existing Model Schools, although strongly condemned by more than one Royal Commission, are still maintained, at a heavy expense to the State, mainly for the benefit of middle-class Protestants.

XXIX.

UNIVERSITY OR COLLEGE? DISCUSSION AS
TO DETAILS: A QUESTION OF POLICY.

(December 9th, 1895.)



UNIVERSITY OR COLLEGE? DISCUSSION AS TO DETAILS: A QUESTION OF POLICY.

(December 9th, 1895.)

[It seems useful to insert here some passages of a letter signed "Newmanensis," which was published in *The Freeman's Journal* of December 9th, 1895.

The letter raised the important question, "Which is the more honourable and the more suitable solution for Ireland,—Catholic University or Catholic College?" It also dealt with some points of detail concerning the organization of the University, or of the College, which might be established. Furthermore, it suggested a discussion of the various matters involved, with a view to the adoption of a definite scheme to be urged upon the attention of the Government.

The passages of the letter that bear directly upon any of the points dealt with in this volume are here transcribed.]

SIR,—The letter from the Bishop of Limerick which appeared last September, your excellent leader on the progress of the Catholic University in the United States, and the resolutions of the bishops at their late meeting at Maynooth,¹ have again placed in some prominence the question of the higher education of Catholics in this country. The bishops appear to be in doubt whether the desired end would be best attained by the resuscitation of the old Catholic University, or by the liberal State equipment of one or more Colleges. It seems, therefore, that the preliminary discussion should turn on the question: Which is the more honourable and the more suitable solution for Ireland—Catholic University or Catholic College?

¹ See pages 355-358.

A Catholic
College.

The easier task of the two—the friendliness of the State in either case being assumed—would certainly be the erection of a College, equipped with all that was necessary in order to place the Catholic student, so far, on a level with the Protestant student. The mode of filling up the appointments to the teaching staff, and the arrangement of the courses of instruction, would present delicate questions for settlement, but negotiation with a friendly Government would not be at a loss to find means for their eventual adjustment.

A Catholic
University.

At the same time it is manifest that a strong Catholic College at Dublin could not exercise so much general influence as a strong Catholic University supported by and interesting to the whole of Ireland. On this ground, of course, those who do not wish Catholicism to become too formidable would prefer—if there must be one or the other—a State-aided College to a State-aided University. That is, the multitude of modern Agnostics, Secularists, English Non-conformists, and Protestants generally, are less likely to oppose a stubborn resistance to the former scheme than to the latter.

But this argument—*hoc Ithacus velit*—the sense that the opponents of us and of the Church would be pleased to see us following a particular course, is no reason at all why we should adopt it. And, if we consider the matter carefully, it will soon become plain that a University is far more urgently needed by Catholic Ireland than a College. For—

1. It is a disgrace and a scandal that Protestants and indifferentists should each have their University provided with ample funds—one through old endowments, the other

by the existing State, and that Irish Catholics, numerically the bulk of the population, should have none.¹

2. No mere College could ever be expected to rise to a level in authority, dignity, and prestige with the existing universities, however liberally it might be assisted by the State. To establish it, therefore, would not be to give a full and just satisfaction to the Catholic claim.

3. Honour requires that, without either bitterness or faint-heartedness suggested by the cruel spoliations of the past, we should not voluntarily acquiesce in the deliberate assignment of a lower position to Catholic higher education than that which is enjoyed by Protestants and Freemasons.

Let it be remembered also that there is nothing in the name or the idea of a College to stimulate enthusiasm, while in the enterprise of founding or restoring a University there is much. In every country the ultimate main support of a seat of the higher education are that pride in its success, and that desire for the privilege of belonging to it which fire the generosity and loosen the purse-strings of individuals.²

* * * * *

Let it be assumed now that the best and soundest opinions among us were nearly unanimous in preferring a University to a College—what model should be followed?

* * * * *

¹ See pages 219-228.

² This is followed by a passage developing the view that "a Catholic University in this country would probably need very little help from the State after the lapse of twenty years."

As it has never even been suggested that the public endowments of Trinity College should be withdrawn after the lapse of twenty years or of any further period, it seems, to say the least of it, unnecessary to enter upon the consideration of whether the help to be given by the State to a Catholic University, or University College, should be in the nature of a permanent or of a provisional arrangement.

Past experience shows that unless Proposed discussion alternative plans are chalked out and of alternative plans. discussed by those interested—unless some one plan be singled out and adopted with something like unanimity—and unless the plan as adopted be urged strongly and perseveringly on the attention of the Government, nothing effectual will be done.¹

What, then, should be the first step? Surely, the coming together of a conference of those interested in higher Catholic education in the diocese of Dublin. The Synod of Thurles might have fixed the new University which it resolved to found, at Clonmacnoise, or on the Rock of Cashel, but it preferred to fix it at Dublin. None will dispute the wisdom of their decision; and it remains for the heads of ecclesiastical and civil society in the diocese of Dublin to assemble such a conference in the manner that may seem most convenient.—I enclose my card, and am yours faithfully,

NEWMANENSIS.

¹ But see pages 368-370.

XXX.

A QUESTION OF POLICY: LETTER OF THE
ARCHBISHOP.

(December 10th, 1895.)



A QUESTION OF POLICY : LETTER OF THE ARCHBISHOP.

(December 10th, 1895.)

[The following letter was published in *The Freeman's Journal* of December 10th, 1895, in reply to the letter from which extracts are given in the preceding pages.¹

A few passages of the letter which were of merely temporary interest, or were distinctly controversial in tone, are here omitted.]

ARCHBISHOP'S HOUSE,

DUBLIN, *December 9th*, 1895.

DEAR SIR,

I think it important that no time should be lost in putting before the public a plain statement upon a point that is raised by the interesting letter of "Newmanensis" in your issue of to-day.

The writer of it infers from the recently-published Resolutions² of our Episcopal Body, that "the bishops appear to be in doubt whether the desired end would be best attained by the resuscitation of the old Catholic University, or by the liberal State-equipment of one or more Colleges." He then suggests that a "preliminary discussion" should forthwith be started as to which of these alternatives is preferable—"Catholic University or Catholic College."

'The Bishops'
Resolutions of
October, 1895.

¹ See pages 361-364.

² See page 355-358.

Now, first, as to the inference. It is not well grounded. A distinction has to be made. It is one thing to have a view, and a very clear view, as to which of the two courses in question is preferable. It is quite a different thing to come forward, at the present stage, with a claim for the adoption of that one particular course. Whatever may be our view as to the respective merits of the two alternative lines of settlement, the bishops have decided, and, I venture to say, have wisely decided, to do just what has been done, and, for the present, to do nothing more. We make one distinct claim. We claim that this question shall be settled on the lines of equality. In claiming this, we point out that it is possible to reach equality in either of the two directions indicated, and we add that, whichever of those two directions be taken, substantial justice may be done. But in all this, there is nothing whatever of uncertainty or doubt.

Secondly, as to the invitation to get up "a preliminary discussion." In my opinion, it would be a fatal, suicidal, step to do anything of the kind.

Let me here transcribe—making it part of this letter—what I said upon this subject on the first occasion on which, as Archbishop of Dublin, I had to deal with it in a public speech. I have not a word to alter in what I then said.¹

What advice, then, do I give as to the line of policy now to be pursued in our seeking for the just and final settlement of this question for which we have been kept waiting for so many years? Are we to go to work by putting into

¹ See pages 57, 58

shape the outline of some scheme which we should be disposed to accept as a satisfactory settlement? So far as my advice can be supposed to have any weight with those who are engaged in the public discussion of the question, I would most earnestly entreat of them to think of nothing of the kind.

On the occasion on which I first spoke
Suggestive pre- in public on the Irish University question,¹
cedent.

—it was in September, 1885,—I illustrated my view by a reference to all that had occurred in connection with the Irish Land question. So long as our public men kept up the demand for a just settlement of that question in the shape of definite proposals, practically nothing was accomplished. By a reference to Mr. Healy's instructive pamphlet, "Why is there an Irish Land Question and an Irish Land League?" I showed that in the ten years that followed the passing of the Irish Land Act of 1870, no fewer than twenty-eight Bills for the amendment of that measure were introduced into Parliament by the advocates of the tenants' claims. Every one of these twenty-eight Bills was introduced only to be compulsorily withdrawn, or to be dropped, or to be rejected by Parliament.

Then came an instructive contrast. A new policy was tried. Its starting-point was the sound advice given by Mr. Parnell, that no further proposals were to be thus presented as embodying the tenants' claims. It was, as he said, the business of those who had charge of the tenants' interests to make it plain to the Government and to the Legislature that an intolerable grievance existed, and that for the removal of that grievance certain principles were essential. But, as to the precise mode of applying those principles

¹ See pages 57, 58.

in detail, that was not their business. It was the business of the responsible Government of the country.

The new course was tried, and with a result which, though far from meeting all the requirements of the case, or from leaving no room for further and far-reaching amendments of the law, were at all events the opening of a new era, separated, it might well seem, by a gulf, not of years, but of centuries, from all that had gone before.

Is it not good policy, then, for us, who are deeply concerned in the fair settlement of this question of University Education, to adopt a similar course? Let us make no proposals as to one form of settlement or another. Let us content ourselves with pointing out the existing inequality, and press for its removal. The responsibility of formulating a definite plan of settlement lies with those who are responsible for the good government of Ireland. Let us not relieve of that responsibility those who are now charged with it.

Our claim :
equality. Our claim is a simple one. Equality is at once its high-water mark and its low-water mark. When we shall be fortunate enough to find a responsible Ministry prepared to recognise, for the first time in our history, that in asking for equality on behalf of the Catholics of Ireland we are asking for nothing but what we are entitled to ask for, and nothing but what they are prepared to concede, it will be time enough to enter into the consideration of details.

I remain, dear Sir,

Faithfully yours,

✠ WILLIAM J. WALSH,
Archbishop of Dublin.

XXXI.

A MISCHIEVOUS MISREPRESENTATION :
LETTER OF PROTEST FROM THE
ARCHBISHOP.

(December 12th, 1895.)



A MISCHIEVOUS MISREPRESENTATION :
LETTER OF PROTEST FROM THE
ARCHBISHOP.

(December 12th, 1895.)

[The following letter, written by the Archbishop in protest against *The* mischievously misleading statement referred to in it, was published in the *Dublin Evening Mail* of the 12th of December, 1895.

As will afterwards be seen, it became necessary before the lapse of twelve months to make another protest¹ in precisely similar circumstances.]

ARCHBISHOP'S HOUSE,
DUBLIN, 12th December, 1895.

SIR,

In a paragraph in yesterday's *Evening Mail*, commenting upon my letter on the Irish University question,² published in *The Freeman's Journal* of Tuesday, you refer to the "right of the laity to have a share in the government" of any University, or University College, such as is looked for by "the prelates who make the demand for equality in the name of the Irish people."

You have strangely been misled into saying that the recognition of this right "would not suit" those prelates.

This statement, indeed, is not one that could mislead any intelligent, well-informed Catholic. But, for the information of your Protestant readers, or at all events of some few amongst them, you will, I am sure, not hesitate to afford me an opportunity of saying in your columns that the statement is wildly at variance with fact.

I am, Sir,

Faithfully yours,

WILLIAM J. WALSH,
Archbishop of Dublin.

¹ See pages 451-453.

² See pages 367-70.



XXXII.

EQUALITY OR INEQUALITY? FOUR
LETTERS OF THE ARCHBISHOP.

*December 28th, 1895; February 3rd and 4th, 1896;
March 2nd, 1896.)*



EQUALITY OR INEQUALITY? FOUR LETTERS OF THE ARCHBISHOP.

(*December 28th*, 1895; *February 3rd and 4th*, 1896;
March 2nd, 1896.)

[The following letters, addressed to the editor of *The Freeman's Journal*, were written in protest against a series of three articles that appeared in the numbers for January, February, and March, 1896, of a periodical published in Dublin.

The first of those articles purported to define and to interpret the claim to equality for Irish Catholics in the matter of University education, put forward on so many occasions by the Archbishop of Dublin.¹ Then the interpretation of the claim as put forward by the Bishops generally, was taken up. But, throughout, under the guise of "equality," the writers of the articles advocated the adoption of a strangely-conceived scheme, utterly inconsistent with the establishment of equality, in any sense of the word.

The letters, written in protest against the subservient scheme thus put before the public, were, of necessity in the circumstances, markedly controversial in tone. As now re-published, they have, as far as possible, been modified in this respect; some expressions have been changed, and some few excisions have been made. The name of the periodical in which the articles appeared has also been omitted, the letters being here re-published, not at all in reference to the incident which led to their being written, but in reference only to the detailed statements which they contain on the subject of equality in its bearing upon the settlement of the Irish University question.]

ARCHBISHOP'S HOUSE,

DUBLIN, *27th December*, 1895.

DEAR SIR,

In [a recent publication] I find a curiously perverted and misleading statement of the Catholic claim in the matter of University Education in Ireland. The statement is published by way of explanation of the formula in which I have been accustomed to sum up that claim, on

¹ See throughout this volume, *passim*

the many occasions on which I have had to deal with our Irish University Question during the last ten years.¹ Hence I feel that I am specially called upon to protest against it.

The statement is as follows :—

“In the words of the Archbishop of Dublin, EQUALITY is at once the high-water mark and the low-water mark of the Catholic demand. And this would seem to signify, not equality with the most favoured members of other religions, as, for example, the beneficiaries of Trinity College, but *with the least favoured*—those who are satisfied with the Queen’s Colleges.”

Then, some pages further on in the article, lest there should be any doubt as to the full meaning of the strange gloss thus sought to be put upon my words, the following exposition in detail is added :—

“Why might there not be a fourth Queen’s College (Catholic in constitution) created to-morrow? *The grant of £12,000 a year, if given to Stephen’s-green, as it is given to Cork, and Galway, and Belfast, would settle this question* for a period so long that we who now discuss the question would, in the interval, be forgotten.”

Now “equality” surely is a word of very definite signification. As applied to the statement of the Catholic claim in the matter of University Education in Ireland, it implies two things: equality as to endowment, and equality as to University status. Upon both points, the subservient programme enunciated in the article from which I have quoted fails.

Equality as to
endowment, As for equality in endowment, our claim
is of the simplest kind. There are at
present in Ireland four State-endowed
University Colleges—Trinity College, Dublin, and the
three Queen’s Colleges of Belfast, Cork, and Galway.
Each of these four Colleges embodies a system of educa-

¹ See throughout this volume, *passim*.

tion that has been authoritatively condemned by the supreme authority in the Catholic Church as "intrinsically dangerous to faith and morals." It is plainly impossible, therefore, to regard those Colleges as furnishing in any sense an adequate or suitable provision for the University education of Catholics.¹

Then the question arises, Why should
the rest of our fellow-countrymen have
four University Colleges provided for
them—four Colleges eminently suited to all their requirements,—whilst there is not even one College, suited to our requirements, provided for us? That question brings out the essence of our case.

Then comes the further point. At one side, we find Trinity College, with its endowment, apparently, of £30,000 or £40,000 a year, and, in addition to Trinity College, the three Queen's Colleges, maintained at a further cost to the public of about £30,000 a year,—totting up, in all, to about £60,000 or £70,000 a year, expended upon the maintenance in Ireland of a number of University Colleges, all of them constructed on a system utterly out of joint with Catholic principle. Can it be seriously suggested, in the face of all this, that justice can be done by the cheese-paring expedient recommended in the passage I have quoted from the article? Can it be seriously suggested that the question can be "settled," for a generation, or even for a day, by giving to us, the Catholics of Ireland, a College, endowed, not, as arithmetical equality would seem to require, with £60,000 or £70,000 a year,—or even with £30,000 or £40,000 a year, to put it on a footing of financial equality with Trinity College,—but with a sum to be fixed at one-third of the amount devoted to the

¹ See pages 30-33; 153-164; and 401-406.

maintenance of the three Colleges of the Queen's College system?

So much for equality as to endowment.

Equality as to
University status.

Next comes the question of equality as to University status.

What is the present University status of Trinity College? That College is, for all practical purposes, both a College and a University, complete in itself.¹ It is unfettered in the arrangement of all its courses of study. It appoints its own professors to teach its students, and its own examiners to examine them. It awards its own prizes, and confers its own degrees. If the Catholics of Ireland are to be put off with a College made subject to all the requirements of a mixed University Senate or of any other body outside its own academic organization, no matter how well endowed that College may be, how can Trinity College be allowed to retain its present privileged status? If, in such a case, Trinity College were to be allowed to retain that status, could it ever cease to be what it still unquestionably is, an entrenched stronghold of the last remnants of the old Protestant ascendancy in Ireland?²

The status of
Trinity College.

It may be asked, do I then claim that Trinity College should be called upon to step down from the position in which it now stands, to forfeit its University status, and to be obliged to submit its students to examination by the examiners of a mixed University? Certainly not.³ It should, indeed, I think, by this time be fairly well known that my personal feeling, to which I have often given expression, inclines towards the settlement of our

¹ See page 45, and the pages there referred to in *footnote* 4.

² See pages 262 and 263; also page 43, and the pages there referred to in *footnote* 1.

³ See pages 265-269.

University Question—so far as the action of the State is concerned—by the establishment of a National University, comprising within it, on equal terms, Trinity College and any other University College or Colleges in Ireland that may be really worthy of the name. But I recognise without reserve that the carrying out of any such policy would involve a notable lowering of the present status of Trinity College; and, except in so far as the advocacy of that policy may be forced on us by a refusal to do us justice upon any other line, I have no thought of pressing a claim for anything of the kind.¹

What I say upon this second branch of the case is this. If Trinity College, in deference to the wishes of its friends, is to be maintained in its present University status, if it is not to be subjected to the necessity—to which every College in Oxford and Cambridge is subject—of submitting its students to examinations other than those conducted by the authorities of the College itself, and if those authorities are to continue to enjoy their present happy academic freedom in the arrangement of the various studies of the place, then, undoubtedly, the University College that is to satisfy the requirements of the Catholics of Ireland ought not to be placed on any lower level in these respects.

We are not, I trust, to be told that a level of academic status which it would be a humiliation to Trinity College to have to stand upon, is, nevertheless, a level of academic status good enough for us.²

Often as I have said it before, let me
Two ways of reaching equality. repeat once again, that in all this matter, whether as regards endowment or as regards University status, there are but two ways of reaching equality: levelling up and levelling down.

¹ See pages 221-223; 239-241; and 263-270.

² *Ibid.*

Surely it is not an extravagant claim to put forward on behalf of the Catholics of Ireland, that, whether it is to be reached by levelling up or levelling down, equality is an absolutely essential element in any scheme of policy that can for a moment be regarded as in any sense effecting a settlement of our Irish University Question? In so far as we have a claim to anything, we have a claim to this.

I remain, dear Sir,

Faithfully yours,

✠ WILLIAM J. WALSH,

Archbishop of Dublin.

[The following is the second letter:—]

ARCHBISHOP'S HOUSE,

DUBLIN, *February 2nd, 1896.*

DEAR SIR,

In the January number of [a well-known Irish periodical] there was an article against which I felt myself specially called upon to write a letter of protest.¹ The article purported to give an interpretation of the word "equality," as invariably employed by me in my statement of the Catholic claim in the matter of University education. An article on the same subject in the current number of the same periodical undertakes to interpret, in a sense no less obviously inadmissible, the collective Resolution of the Irish Bishops on the same subject.

A humiliating
arrangement.

It was sought in the former article to lead the public to believe that the word "equality," in my repeated use of it, conveyed no claim for any change in the truly humiliating arrangement under which we are now admitted to

¹ See page 377.

have anything to do with University work, or with so-called University work, in Ireland,—that is, through our connection with the system of examinations organized by the Senate of the Royal University. In the view that is now being so assiduously pressed upon public notice, “equality” is consistent with the continued maintenance of that humiliating arrangement, so far as we are concerned, whilst Trinity College, as a great Protestant institution, goes on in the undisturbed enjoyment of that high position which it values, and most properly values, far above any mere endowment—the position of dignity, of independence, and of manifold splendid advantage, which it has so long held, as the one College in Ireland that can offer to its students, in absolute freedom from all external control, every advantage of a College and of a University combined.¹

After this strange gloss upon the word “Equality.” “equality,” it was hardly to be wondered at that “equality” should also be represented as consistent with our being placed, as regards public aid, on a level merely with one of the three Queen’s Colleges. Those Colleges, under the ægis of this so-called “equality,” were to continue in the secure enjoyment of of their £30,000 a year; and so too, Trinity College, also shielded by this anomalous kind of “equality,” was to be secured in the enjoyment of its £30,000, or £40,000, or whatever other amount represents the annual value of its public endowment!

That subservient programme, as published last month, having been promptly protested against by me, and not a word having been spoken in defence of it from any quarter, it has

¹ See page 45, and the pages there referred to in *footnote 4*.

now, in a certain sense, been withdrawn. But a modified version of it has now been issued. In this new version of the programme there is but one substantial change. The price named as the consideration on receipt of which the Catholic position may be abandoned, is raised from £10,000 to £30,000. In all other essential points, the January programme is upheld. We are not to have a University of our own; but Trinity College is to have a University of its own. In dignity, in independence, in advantages of every kind, Trinity College is to stand as it always stood; but we are to be put off with "a Catholic College (or Colleges)" attached to the Royal University.

It is perfectly clear that, whatever other words may with propriety be used in describing a scheme of this kind, the word "equality" is singularly out of place in connection with it. Now, it is notorious that equality has always, and necessarily, been insisted upon by the Bishops, as an indispensable condition in any scheme that is to be regarded as a satisfactory settlement of the University question.¹ I am really at a loss, then, to understand how the conductors of the periodical in which those articles have appeared can have allowed its pages to be used for the publication of such a scheme, coupled with the reckless assertion that the scheme meets, and, in fact, "directly," meets, the claim for justice as formulated by the Irish Bishops.

Speaking of the claim so often put forward by the Bishops, the writer of the article says that "ingenuity has exhausted itself in shirking their demand; the experiment of meeting it directly is the only one untried." Then,

Essential
inequality.

The Catholic
claim.

¹ See pages 91-93; 119, 120; and 355-358.

after stating that "it could be met *and satisfied* now by any one of three expedients," he proceeds with his enumeration of these, his third "expedient" being the scheme, essentially vitiated by inequality, which I have above described!

As an Irish Bishop, familiar with every feature of the claim so often put forward by our Episcopal body, I hasten, before further, and possibly serious, mischief has been done by this statement, publicly to protest against this misrepresentation of our claim that has now been published.

The writer of the article describes Trinity College. Trinity College, and I believe truthfully describes it, as a place "where the attitude towards philosophies antagonistic to Catholic Christianity is one of respectful deference, or, at times, of enthusiastic admiration," and where "the uninstructed stripling . . . can scarcely escape the contagion, unless he have a soul of lead, or can seal up eye and ear." I find it hard to conceive how the writer of this pointed statement of the case against Trinity College as a place of education for our Catholic youth, can have made himself responsible for the programme which he has set forth in his article. It is still harder to conceive how he can have allowed himself to be persuaded into the belief that the Irish Bishops—fully aware, as he knows them to be, of the dangers to faith that are inseparable from the position of a Catholic student in Trinity College¹—have nevertheless claimed the carrying out of such a programme, or have recognised in any way, as an acceptable form of settlement of our University question, a state of things in which Trinity

¹ See pages 30-33 153-164; 401-406.

College would be secured for generations, and possibly for centuries, in that position of advantage which it has so long held, and which has enabled it, in not a few cases with fatal effect, to attract "uninstructed striplings" to its halls.

The Bishops' "claim." The writer of the article puts forward his programme as representing the "minimum of the claim" made by the Bishops. Now, we have made no claim of the kind, nor any claim in any way resembling it. We have never even acquiesced in any suggestion that such an arrangement could form an equitable basis of settlement.

If we take the three plans that have at any time been contemplated as available for a settlement of the University question on the basis of equality,¹ we shall find indeed that only one of the three has, in any proper sense of the word, ever been "claimed" by the Irish Bishops. We have claimed² but one thing,—the establishment and endowment of a Catholic University, having its endowed College or Colleges, and enjoying every advantage that the State confers upon any Protestant or non-Catholic University or Universities, or upon any Protestant or non-Catholic College or Colleges, in Ireland.

The fundamental conditions. But, whilst putting forward this as their claim, the Bishops have at the same time expressly concurred in the suggestion that the two fundamental conditions—sufficient protection for Catholic interests, on the one hand, and equality, on the other—could be secured by the adoption of either of two other plans³

¹ See pages 239-41.

² See page 48, and pages 91-93.

³ See pages 239-241.

Alternative plans suggested. In one of these alternative plans, a common National University would be established, as was projected in Mr. Gladstone's scheme of 1873; and in such a University, our Catholic College, or Colleges, of University studies would stand on precisely the same level of University status with Trinity College or the Queen's Colleges. In the second of the alternative plans, the question, so far as Dublin is concerned, would be settled by widening the University of Dublin so as to comprise within its organization, along with Trinity College, a great Catholic College of higher studies, standing upon a footing of perfect equality with Trinity College as concerns every advantage that the State can confer.

Without in any way claiming the adoption of either of those two alternative plans, the Bishops have distinctly expressed themselves as able to consider either of them as satisfactory for all practical purposes, so far as regards the interests with the protection of which they, as Bishops, are charged.¹

Equality. But the Bishops have never at any time claimed the adoption of any scheme such as that formulated in the articles now being published. Nor have they at any time given favour or countenance to any scheme of the kind. Whilst the danger, so graphically described by the writer of the article, continues to exist—and it is a danger inseparable from the education of Catholic youth in a College such as Trinity College²—no proposals for the settlement of our University question can be regarded as satisfactory or safe which leaves Trinity College in possession of any advantage whatever, whether

¹ See pages 91-92.

² See pages 30-33; 153-164; 401-406.

as regards endowment, or as regards University status, over our leading Dublin Catholic College of University studies.

I remain, dear sir,

Faithfully yours,

✠ WILLIAM J. WALSH.

Archbishop of Dublin.

P.S.—I need hardly point out that the fact,—now so well known to students,—that degrees and prizes can be obtained in Trinity College with so much less of difficulty than has to be faced by a student in the open competition of the Royal University, is one of the most tempting allurements by which Trinity College, from the very nature of the case, now attracts a not inconsiderable number of students.

✠ W. J. W.

[The accidental omission of some lines of the preceding letter, in the letter as originally printed, made it necessary to supply the omission by a supplemental letter which was published in *The Freeman's Journal* of the next day. The supplemental letter contained the following paragraph:—

We [the Bishops] have uniformly insisted that "equality" is an essential requirement of any scheme by which this question can be settled. Now the scheme so persistently advocated [by the writers of the articles in the periodical referred to] is based upon inequality. Over many points in the settlement of the University question there may be room for compromise or adjustment. But between equality and inequality there can be no room for anything of the kind. The outcome of any negotiation or transaction upon this matter, in so far as it is not one of these two things, must be the other.

[The following is the fourth letter:—]

ARCHBISHOP'S HOUSE,

DUBLIN, 29th February, 1896.

DEAR SIR,

It is far from satisfactory that, notwithstanding the emphatic protests which have had to be made on two occasions within the last two months, [the same periodical] in its March number, just issued, has once more lent itself to the mischievous work of circulating a perverted version of the claim made by the Bishops of Ireland in the matter of University Education.

The ground
shifted.

The article in the number for the present month is, indeed, in one respect somewhat of an improvement upon that published in the February number. An attempt is now made to treat the whole subject as if there were question only of *the policy of rejecting or of accepting an admittedly imperfect measure*, in the event of such a measure being offered to us by the Government, and as if the one point to the elucidation of which so many pages have now been given up, was the determining of the precise limits within which the principle of "a half loaf" being "better than no bread" should come into play in the case.

This, up to a point, is some improvement upon what went before. But the public must not be allowed to lose sight of the fact that it is at the same time a complete shifting of the ground. What I had to protest against in the articles published in the numbers for January and February¹ had nothing whatever to do either with the assertion, or with the application, of that axiomatic principle.

¹ See page 377.

What I had to protest against in the
 Equality as claimed by the Archbishop. article in the January number was the publication of a misstatement regarding my own individual action. That misstatement was that I, personally, when putting forward my often-repeated claim to equality of treatment for Catholics in this matter of University education, meant to claim nothing more than the establishment of a College, to be connected with the Royal University, and to be endowed, not up to the level of Trinity College, but only up to the level of one of the three Queen's Colleges.¹

Then, what I had to protest against, in
 Equality as claimed by the Irish Bishops. the article in the February number, was the publication of a misstatement regarding the collective action of the Irish Bishops at our last October meeting. That misstatement was that the often-repeated claim of the Bishops to equality of treatment for Catholics, could be "met" and "satisfied" by the expedient of endowing a Catholic College, which would be placed under the necessity of shaping all its courses of studies to meet the requirements of the "mixed" examining body known as the Royal University, whilst Trinity College was left in undisturbed possession of that happy academic freedom which at present gives to that great College its place of proud pre-eminence amongst all places of University Education in Ireland.²

Now, in the third article, published in
 The "highest privilege" of Trinity College. the number for March, we have it at length confessed, that "the highest privilege which any Irish College possesses is the singular University self-government which Trinity College enjoys." And yet, last month we were told that the claim

¹ See page 378.

² See page 45, and the pages there referred to in footnote 4.

made by the Bishops for the establishment of a system in which the Catholic College or Colleges should "fully" participate in "*all* the privileges enjoyed by other Colleges of whatsoever denomination or character," could be "met and satisfied" by the establishment of a one-sided system in which this "highest privilege" would continue to be the exclusive prerogative of the old Elizabethan foundation in College-green !

This is what I protested against last month, and I am happy to observe that my protest has not been altogether without effect. It is now acknowledged that the establishment of any such system could only be regarded as an "instalment" of justice, and that it could "in no sense be regarded as affording an absolute settlement" of the question.

Equality or inequality ? What, then, is the object of all this persistent advocacy of it? If we are not in earnest in looking for equality, if we are really in favour of the adoption of some subservient programme or other, let us say so openly, and have done with pretence. What reality can there be in a claim which is coupled with a faint-hearted apology for making it, and with a statement that, after all, the "half-loaf" is meant to be its full extent? Who ever heard of a shopkeeper foolishly labelling an article at 5s., with the further information that the very lowest price that would be taken for it was half-a-crown? Now this precisely is the policy of these writers. Fortunately there is no possibility of its being imagined that they speak for anyone but themselves. Otherwise, indeed, our claim to equality might as well forthwith be withdrawn, as utterly and hopelessly discredited by their strangely persistent advocacy of the policy of surrender.

A mischievous
plea.

But there is something even still more mischievous than all this in the article now published. Towards its close the article is a laboured plea on behalf of the present Government, urging, with ill-spent ingenuity, that, however loudly we may claim a full measure of justice in this manner of University Education, it would be unreasonable of us to expect this Government to grant it.

The establishment of a Catholic University, we are told, would be the "ideal solution" of the problem. But the Ministry could not undertake to do this for us without having to face "the defection of its own partisans." We are exhorted therefore not to look for it, as we have no right to expect the present Ministry to be "high-minded beyond precedent."

This, it is to be noted, comes at the close of an elaborate disquisition in proof of the unreasonableness of expecting the present Ministry to settle the question on the line of admitting a second College into the University of Dublin, thus interfering with that "highest privilege" of "University self-government" which Trinity College now enjoys. So that, according to this self-constituted exponent of the Catholic claim, we are not, on the one hand, to seek to have this "highest privilege" of Trinity College interfered with, and we are, on the other hand, to acknowledge that the Government should be "high-minded beyond all precedent" before they could think of conferring a corresponding privilege upon the College that is to be founded as "meeting" and "satisfying" the claims of the Catholics of Ireland!

For my part, I cannot see how the publication of a pleading such as this, in advocacy of a volunteered acquiescence in the denial of justice, is to be acquitted of

the charge of treason against the interests of Catholic education in Ireland.

Inconsistent
theories.

I have just now pointed out how it is sought in this mischievous article to undermine the Catholic position by representing that it would be unreasonable to expect the present Ministry to settle the question on the lines of full equality by the establishment of a Catholic University. Oddly enough, in the same paragraph with this, at the close of the disquisition upon the unreasonableness of expecting the Ministry to interfere with the high privileges of Trinity College, we find the following :—

“On the other hand, in support of our claim for a University of our own, Catholic to the heart’s core, we should have *all the support of a party pledged to denominational education as deeply as Catholics are*, and strong enough to carry its measure against all the resistance of Liberalism. And by allowing Trinity College to remain intact *we establish a claim upon Protestant generosity to deal with our University in no grudging spirit of parsimony.*”

And yet, it is in this very paragraph that we are warned, in the terms already quoted, against the unreasonableness of expecting a Catholic University to be established by this same Ministry :—

“What motive can stimulate the present Ministry to press a Catholic University for Ireland through Parliament? It will lose some votes by the attempt, and it will gain none. . . . A Ministry should be high-minded beyond all precedent *to disregard the defection of its own partisans* where it gains nothing in compensation.”

So we are not to seek to have Trinity College interfered with, because, by avoiding interference with it we shall secure the overwhelming strength of the Conservative party in favour of the establishment and liberal endowment of a Catholic University. And yet we are not to seek to have a Catholic University established, because there is no

prospect of a measure for that purpose being carried by a Conservative ministry!

But all this, important as it may be in view of more than one aspect of the case, is somewhat outside the chief purpose of my writing this letter.

I have felt called upon to write mainly
 Persistent misrepresentation in protest against the indignity that is put upon the Bishops of Ireland by the persistence with which the pages of [an Irish periodical] are now being placed, month after month,¹ at the disposal of writers who apply themselves to the work of misrepresenting the plain meaning of our repeated declarations upon all this matter.

Over and over again, the Bishops, as the responsible guardians of the religious interests of the Catholics of Ireland, have put forward a definite claim.² That claim is for equality—equality, not merely in the matter of endowment, but, in the words of our resolution of last October, equality as regards “*all* the privileges and emoluments” enjoyed whether by the Queen’s Colleges or by Trinity College, including I need hardly say, that privilege of Trinity College which even the article in question acknowledges to be the “highest privilege” of all.

Yet now, even in the third month of this series of misleading publications, after all the contradictions, after all the protests, after all the refutations, that have been published, we find it stated, with the same boldness that characterized the statements in the January and February numbers, that what the Bishops have claimed is equality “in one particular”—or, to give the grandiloquent phraseology in full, “equality in the one particular on which all

¹ See page 377.

² See pages 90-93; 119-120; and 355-357.

equalization must be based, in which every growth towards perfect equality must find its beginning!"

Again, the definite words of the Bishops' Resolution in which "equality" is claimed, as regards both endowments and University privileges, are twisted away from their natural meaning by the clumsy paraphrase, "SUITABLY privileged and endowed."

And,—to give but one other illustration of the length to which misrepresentation is pushed in this latest, and let us hope, last, of the series of articles,—it is explicitly stated that what the Bishops seek is "just such privileges" as will give an "approach" to equality!

A timely
warning. Whatever may be the object that underlies this elaborate attempt, so determinedly persisted in, to misrepresent the solemn official action of the Bishops, one result of the publication of those three articles in three consecutive issues of this periodical will surely be to put the Catholics of Ireland well on their guard against being misled by any statements that may be similarly put forward in future under the guise of advancing the interests of Irish Catholic education.

I remain, Dear Sir,

Faithfully yours,

WILLIAM J. WALSH,
Archbishop of Dublin.



XXXIII.

THE CONDEMNATION OF THE QUEEN'S
COLLEGES AND OF THE QUEEN'S
UNIVERSITY BY THE IRISH BISHOPS
AND BY THE HOLY SEE: LETTER OF
THE ARCHBISHOP.

(January 16th, 1896.)



THE CONDEMNATION OF THE QUEEN'S COLLEGES AND OF THE QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY BY THE IRISH BISHOPS AND BY THE HOLY SEE: LETTER OF THE ARCHBISHOP.

(January 16th, 1896.)

[Whilst the letters now reprinted in the preceding section of this volume¹ were appearing in the early months of last year, the Irish University question was a frequent subject of reference in the Dublin newspapers.

In *The Daily Express* of January 15th, 1896, it was pleaded as a justification of the slowness of the Ministry in bringing forward any scheme for the solution of the problem, that it was "unreasonable" to expect a Ministry "to make a series of tentative experiments" which might be "acquiesced in for a time, as the Queen's University was, but afterwards repudiated by the ecclesiastics, then by a slow persistent process undermined, and ultimately destroyed, to satisfy their hostility."

All this was relied upon by the writer of the article as an irrefragable proof that the Ministry should not undertake the responsibility of bringing forward any scheme, but should await the production of a definite scheme by those who may feel aggrieved by the existing arrangements.

The following letter, published in *The Daily Express* of the next day, shows how far removed from historical fact are the statements that were thus made as to the attitude of the Irish Bishops towards the Queen's University when it was established. It also puts definitely on record the various steps taken, from the beginning, by the Irish Bishops on the one hand, and by the Holy See on the other, in reference to the Queen's Colleges.

The letter refers, but only incidentally, to the contention, fully dealt with in a previous letter,² that those who are aggrieved by the existing provisions for University education in Ireland are called upon, not merely to show that they have a grievance, and to make plain in what that grievance consists, but also to bring forward a definite scheme for the establishment of a satisfactory system.]

¹ See pages 377-395.

² See pages 367-370.

ARCHBISHOP'S HOUSE,

DUBLIN, 15th January, 1896.

SIR,

In *The Daily Express* of to-day, writing on the Irish University question, you contend that those who are claiming equality for Catholics in the matter of University education in Ireland should not content themselves, even at the present stage of the question, with merely insisting upon the right to equality of treatment. Your view is that we should bring forward a definite plan showing in what particular form, out of the variety of possible forms, we should prefer to see equality established.

I do not now write for the purpose of affirming the opposite view, which it is known I strongly hold.¹ I wish to deal only with a statement made by you in sustainment of your position. The statement, I can assure you, is quite erroneous. I have no doubt that the misconception embodied in it is a very widespread one. It has become so, apparently, by dint of frequent unchecked repetition. As the matter involved is of primary importance in relation to our University question, I think it useful to correct the error.

Your statement is as follows :—

“Is it reasonable to ask them [the Government] to make a series of tentative experiments which may be *acquiesced in for a time, as the Queen's University was*, but afterwards repudiated by the ecclesiastics, then by a slow persistent process undermined, and ultimately destroyed to satisfy their hostility?”

Now I do not wish to be captious. There is a plain distinction—though, from the unfortunate widespread confusion of thought in this country² on the subject of Colleges and

The Queen's
University and the
Queen's Colleges.

¹ See pages 57, 58; and 367-370.

² See pages 3, 4; and page 67.

Universities, that distinction has frequently been lost sight of—between the Queen's University and the Queen's Colleges. As a matter of fact, indeed, your statement, taken literally, and in all its fulness, can refer only to the Queen's University. For it is the "University" that has ceased to exist: the Queen's Colleges still survive. Yet I assume that you do not wish to represent the ecclesiastics of the day as having "acquiesced," even "for a time," in the Queen's University. That University, or so-called University, was not established until September, 1850, the very month in which the joint Pastoral Letter of the Irish Bishops was issued from the Synod of Thurles. You do not, I am sure, regard that Pastoral Letter as expressive of acquiescence either in the Queen's Colleges, or in anything connected with them.

I take your statement of this alleged "acquiescence," as referring, not exactly to the Queen's University, but to the Queen's Colleges. But the statement, even as so understood, embodies a misconception of the gravest kind. To emphasize the correction of the error, I take the opportunity of bringing together some apposite expressions of opinion from the laity, as well as from the clergy, and from the Protestant as well as from the Catholic side.

Here are the salient facts of the case:—

1. The Government scheme for the
Establishment of the Queen's Colleges. Ireland was unfolded in Parliament on Friday, the 9th of May, 1845.

2. On the following Monday, the 12th
O'Connell. of May, at the weekly meeting of the Repeal Association, O'Connell, amidst the loud applause of the meeting, protested against the scheme—adopting as his own the memorable words in which Sir Robert Inglis

had stigmatized it in the House of Commons, three days before, as "a gigantic scheme of godless education."

3. *The Freeman's Journal* of Tuesday The Press. the 13th of May, 1845, which contains the report of O'Connell's speech, contains also some extracts from an article in that ever-staunch exponent of Irish Protestant opinion, *The Dublin Evening Mail*, in which the following passages occur :—

"The new academical system for Ireland is launched. . . The project, as truly described by Sir Robert Inglis, is a gigantic system of godless education, and, had it sprung up in France some fifty years ago, would surely have been dedicated to some such patron saint as the goddess of reason."

And again :—

"These objections [some special objections urged in the interests of Protestants] *The Freeman* will not undervalue . . . We admit their truth and their force, when applied to the youth of any religious persuasion . . . They apply to all sects, because they are founded on the common principles of humanity. A godless education can result in nothing but an atheistical people : and infidelity in every shape and form is the mother of anarchy."

And again :—

"When it was proposed to endow Maynooth, we, of the Protestant party, believed we were on the high way from Lambeth to the Vatican. If those academic institutions, however, be endowed, it is much to be feared that Papists and Protestants are on a journey where, though we may not have to go as far as either, we may fare yet worse in the end. Atheism and anarchy would make earth a hell."

4. On Wednesday, the 21st of May, 1845, The Irish Bishops. —within eleven days of the introduction of the Government scheme—the Bishops held a special meeting in Dublin, at which, after the most careful consideration, they unanimously adopted a resolution in which they openly protested against the scheme as "dangerous to the faith and morals" of Catholic youth.¹

¹ See pages 30-33 ; and 153-164.

5. In a Memorial to the Lord Lieutenant drawn up at that meeting, the Bishops set forth with great explicitness a series of modifications,—amounting to a reconstruction of the entire measure,—which, as guardians of the faith and morals of the Catholic youth of Ireland, they felt it to be their duty to claim. But their effort to have the scheme amended so that they could in any way “acquiesce” in it, was fruitless. When the Bill came on for second reading, on the 2nd of June, Sir James Graham, the Minister in charge of it, announced on the part of the Government that “the adoption of the most material parts in that Memorial would be inconsistent with their duty and with the principle of the Bill.”

Modification of
details.

6. On Monday, the 23rd of June, on the motion for going into a committee on the Bill, Sir James Graham announced some few modifications which the Government were willing to make in the details of the scheme. But none of these affected any matter of principle. As to the principle of the measure, the Government refused to yield an inch. The result was inevitable. During the same week, the ordinary June meeting of the Bishops was held in Maynooth. Some few of the Bishops, it was understood, were in favour of reopening the consideration of the question, with a view to the modification, in some degree, of the Episcopal Protest that had been issued against the Bill as originally introduced. Nothing, however, came of this, and the Resolution in which that Protest had been expressed stood without modification of any kind. Some few Bishops undoubtedly were of opinion that the changes made in the scheme had, to a certain extent, removed some of the grounds of objection. But they were in a small minority, and they were quite unable to influence the collective judgment of the Episcopal Body.

The Episcopal
Protest.

On the 20th of September, 1845, a Declaration, signed by the great majority of the Bishops, was published in the newspapers.

It was in the following terms :—

“Lest our faithful flocks should be apprehensive of any change being wrought in our minds relative to the recent legislative measures of Academic Education, We, the undersigned Archbishops and Bishops, feel it is a duty we owe to them and to ourselves to reiterate our solemn conviction of its being dangerous to faith and morals, as declared in the Resolutions unanimously adopted in May last, by the assembled Bishops of Ireland.”

This outspoken Declaration was signed by twenty Bishops, out of the Catholic Episcopacy of Ireland, then numbering twenty-six.

8. So far, there is little to indicate the “acquiescence,” which we are now told was the attitude of “the ecclesiastics” of the day towards the Government scheme. Even the minority of six Bishops agreed with the prevailing sense of their body, that the occasion was one in which an authoritative decision upon the case as it then stood should be sought from the Holy See. Accordingly at the next meeting of the Bishops, on the 18th of November, 1845, the whole matter was referred to the supreme authority of the Sovereign Pontiff.

9. At Rome, the matter was long and seriously considered in all its aspects. Various communications passed, and had to be considered. There was no need for haste. The weighty words of the Bishops of Ireland were before the clergy and people of the country, giving warning to all concerned, of the dangers to the Catholic youth of the country, which the Government scheme involved. At length, after most mature deliberation, the decision of the supreme authority of the Catholic Church was given. On

the 9th October, 1847, a Rescript was issued authoritatively confirming the decision of the Irish Episcopal body, that the new Colleges involved "a grave danger to the faith" of Catholics.

10. Some questions of detail having
A further Rescript. arisen, a further Rescript, explanatory and confirmatory of that of 1847, was issued on the 11th of October, 1848. This second Rescript described the dangers as "intrinsic," or inherent in the very nature of the scheme of the new Colleges.¹

11. Soon afterwards, a curious point was
A third Rescript. raised. It was considered by some that the dangers of the new Collegiate system, "grave" and "intrinsic" though they were, would be rendered less if some priests were to accept appointments to positions of influence in the administration of the Colleges of Cork and Galway. It had to be considered that there were Catholics, who, in disregard of every warning from the Bishops, or even from the Holy See, would enter those Colleges as students. Hence, even to some of the Bishops, the palliative suggested seemed not inexpedient. This view, however, was promptly declared by the Holy See to be inadmissible, and a third Rescript, containing an authoritative decision on this point of detail, was issued on the 18th of April, 1850.

12. I have now reached the date of the
The Synod of
Thurles. Synod of Thurles. The solemn re-publication by that venerable assemblage of prelates, of the former repeated condemnation of the Queen's Colleges, does not need to be quoted here. Nor, after the statement of facts detailed in the preceding paragraphs of this letter, can it be necessary to add one

¹ See pages 30-33; and 153-164.

word in refutation of the wild fiction so often and so persistently repeated, that the condemnation of the Colleges at that Synod was "carried" only by "a majority of one!"

I dare say, indeed, it will be considered that I have gone far beyond the requirements of the case, in piling up evidence from so many sources in disproof of the statement which was the occasion of my writing. I trust, at all events, that we have now heard the last of that statement, or of any other statement to the effect that the scheme either of the Queen's Colleges or of the Queen's University was at first "acquiesced in," and was only afterwards "repudiated," by the Catholic Episcopacy, or by the Catholic priesthood of Ireland.

I remain, sir,

Faithfully yours,

✠ WILLIAM J. WALSH,
Archbishop of Dublin.

XXXIV.

MISREPRESENTATION IN *THE ATHENÆUM*:
PROTEST FROM THE ARCHBISHOP.

(*February 28th, 1896 ; March 7th, 1896.*)



MISREPRESENTATION IN *THE ATHENÆUM*: PROTEST FROM THE ARCHBISHOP.

(February 28th, 1896; March 7th, 1896.)

[After the publication of the second letter of the series of four letters reprinted in a preceding section of this volume,¹ an exceptionally bold misrepresentation of the Archbishop's views on Irish University affairs was put into circulation by a Dublin contributor to *The Athenæum*, in a letter signed "G.," which was published in the issue of that periodical for February 29th, 1896.

The letter contained the following passage, a curious mixture of undeniable truth and of peculiarly perverse misrepresentation.]

If the Intermediate Education Act and the Royal University Act could be now swept away, and the endowments thus squandered made available for proper education, the situation would be simpler and more hopeful. Meanwhile internal reforms are being stayed, and the vices in the various operating systems of education are not being removed. . . .

The real educators [Fellows and Professors of Trinity College, Dublin] are pursuing their investigations diligently in the home which real learning has found for itself in Ireland.

Qualis apes æstate nova per fibrea rura
Exercet sub sole labor, cum gentis adultos
Educunt fetus, aut cum liquentia mella
Stipant.

But we may soon have a condition of things in Ireland when quoting Latin will be like quoting Chinese. For Archbishop Walsh in his recent letter on the University

¹ See pages 377-395

Education question holds up the Royal University as the best in Ireland.

The men employed as has just been described, are not to be compared as directors of examinations with the Catholic-Protestant junta, mostly of amateurs, who direct affairs in this institution with a careful regard to the creed of the competitors. On the whole, the prospect is therefore gloomy enough, and perhaps it is well if the Government be slow in making any changes until the controversies which now agitate the country have had time to instruct, as well as perplex, the new Ministers.

[The next issue of *The Athenæum* contained the following repudiation:—]

ARCHBISHOP'S HOUSE,

DUBLIN, *March 2, 1896.*

I find it stated in *The Athenæum* of last week that "Archbishop Walsh, in his recent letter on the University Question, holds up the Royal University as the best in Ireland."

I trust you will consider it due to me to give me an opportunity of stating in your columns that there is no truth whatever in this extraordinary statement. It is simply an invention, and a very clumsy one.

My views as to the Royal University are fairly well known in Ireland. I have publicly stated on more than one occasion that I am unable to recognise that institution as a University in any proper sense of the word. It is little more than a mere examining board.¹

✠ WILLIAM J. WALSH,

Archbishop of Dublin.

¹ See, for instance, pages 241, 242, and page 260, of the present volume.

XXXV

SOME RECENT MINISTERIAL STATEMENTS.

(January 15th, 1896 ; July 24th, 1896.)



SOME RECENT MINISTERIAL STATEMENTS.

(January 15th, 1896; July 24th, 1896.)

[In continuation of the long series of declarations of policy made in previous years by responsible Ministers, indicating, if not formally promising, that the Irish University question was about to be dealt with,¹ it is useful here to take note of the following statements, made within the last twelve months by the present Lord Lieutenant, and by the present Chief Secretary for Ireland].

His Excellency, Earl Cadogan, speaking at Belfast on the 15th of January, 1896, referred to the University question briefly, but distinctly, as follows:—

“There is then the question of education. That is one on which I need hardly say I am not about to enlarge at the present moment. We have to deal with it from its aspect of primary education, from its aspect of University education—which I am not sure that I do not think is the most important point of view—and from the point of view of technical education.”

Subsequently, in the House of Commons, on the 24th of July, 1896, the Chief Secretary spoke upon the subject with sympathy. His speech is reported as follows in *Hansard*:—²

Mr. GERALD BALFOUR said he could only deal with the matter generally. He regretted that the Roman Catholic hierarchy did not approve of the University [of Dublin], so that contemporaries might be brought up side by side.

¹ See pages 123-135; also pages 193-203.

² The Parliamentary Debates (Authorized Edition), July 24th, 1896, cols. 652, 653.

However, as the hon. Member (Mr. T. Harrington) had said, they must take facts as they found them,¹ and the Catholics had shown their absolute sincerity² by refusing to allow their children to attend the colleges.

No one who knew Ireland could deny the difficulty of the problem. He himself, in the short time he had been in Ireland, had to recognise it. It was his unfortunate lot to have to dispense a great deal of patronage. It had been his desire that that patronage should be shared to an equal extent by Protestants and Catholics, but he was certain that everyone in his position had felt the difficulty of finding Catholics who were fit to hold these positions,³ and the difficulty was largely due to the absence of a Catholic University education. That was a proposition which no one could deny.

Most of the endeavours to solve the question had, he was afraid, been failures, which had brought more or less discredit on those who had attempted its solution.⁴ He did not know, if he was to try and solve it, that he should be more fortunate than those who had preceded him. He was not in a position to pledge the Government in this matter; but he repeated that, so far as he was personally concerned, he should be glad to try and make a solution of the problem, and it would be a great pride to him if, before he ceased to hold the office he now held, he could feel that even some step had been taken towards the solution of a problem which he was certain was intimately bound up with the future prosperity of Ireland.

¹ See pages 199, 200, and page 202.

² See page 200.

³ As to this statement, see page 418 of this volume.

⁴ A result by no means surprising, in view of the strange course hitherto invariably followed in the preparation of schemes of legislation on the subject. (See pages 511 and 512.)

XXXVI

RECENT EPISCOPAL DECLARATION ON THE
IRISH UNIVERSITY QUESTION.

(October 14th, 1896.)



RECENT EPISCOPAL DECLARATION ON THE [IRISH UNIVERSITY QUESTION.

(*October 14th, 1896.*)

[The following declaration on the Irish University Question was issued by the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, assembled in General Meeting on the 14th of October, 1896.]

We, the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, regret that it is still our duty to renew the protests which we have been making for many years against the injustice with which Irish Catholics are treated in the matter of education. For us, it would be much more grateful to our feelings, and more in keeping with our office, to promote, if we might, a spirit of contentment on the part of our people with the institutions under which they have to live. But while a grievous wrong is being perpetrated against the material, as well as the spiritual, interests of our people, we should be false to our duties if we did not work for its redress.

The Education
question:
University
Education.

On previous occasions we have dealt with the various branches of that wrong as it affects education in its different grades¹—Primary, Intermediate, and University, and we have to observe with pain and disappointment how unavailing have been our efforts. We now desire to dwell in particular on the question of higher, or University, education, and we do so as there is some reason to hope from the state of public business, that at length the Government may be induced to deal with it.

¹ See, for instance, pages 119, 120; and 355-358.

The grievance
acknowledged.

We assume, as admitted on all hands, that in this matter the Catholics of Ireland have a grievance. This has been recognised by statesmen of all political parties, in the House of Parliament and in the country ; but by no one has it been stated with greater force, nor the intellectual and material impoverishment resulting from it set forth with greater clearness, than by the present First Lord of the Treasury, now seven years ago, in his remarkable speech at Partick.¹

No later, too, than the closing days of the last session of Parliament, the Chief Secretary for Ireland made the memorable admission in reference to this same question, that, through the want of University education amongst the Catholics of Ireland, he found it necessary from time to time to pass them over, and to give to Protestants public appointments which otherwise he would have thought it right to give to Catholics.² We must say that, much as we feel humiliated by the statement, we are not quite surprised at it. To be crushed by law into a position of inferiority, and then made to suffer in consequence, has for a long time been the lot of Irish Catholics.

Trinity College,
and
Queen's College,
Belfast.

There are in Ireland at this moment but two University institutions deserving of the name—Trinity College, Dublin, and the Queen's College, Belfast. We do not regard the work of University education which is being done by the other Queen's Colleges as worthy of consideration ;³ and we must recognise that our Catholic Colleges, however brilliant their successes⁴ at the various examinations, are limited by the conditions under which they exist to

¹ See pages 193-203.

² See page 414.

³ See page 33, and the pages there referred to in footnote 4.

⁴ See page 47, and the pages there referred to in footnote 1.

very small fields of labour. But, unquestionably, Trinity College does educational work of great extent and of high order; and in a less, but still considerable degree, the same may be asserted of the Queen's College, Belfast.

In these two institutions there are 1,500 students, and out of that total, less than 100 are Catholics, and the remainder are Protestants of the Disestablished Church or Presbyterians. In this condition of things it is hardly a matter of surprise that educated Catholics are not numerous in Ireland.

The loss to the
nation.

We, who are concerned for the spiritual, and also for the material, interests of our people, know from bitter experience the loss which they sustain in having the doors of higher knowledge shut in their faces. And those who take any interest in the temporal welfare and progress of the country have had brought home to them at every turn the impossibility of raising a nation in which three-fourths of the population are cut off from the direct and indirect advantage of the full training of their best intellects.¹

Incompleteness
of the Irish
education system.

In recent years, since the institution of the Intermediate Examinations, this incompleteness of our educational system is more obvious and more irritating. Intermediate schools have been multiplied. Year by year the number of their students is increasing. This year, as many as 8,700 students, the great majority of whom are Catholics, presented themselves for examination, and in all probability this number will grow still larger. But if any reasonable man asks himself what the goal of all these Intermediate studies is to be for so many thousands of Catholic students, he will not find it quite easy to get an

¹ See pages 6-14.

answer. We know well that under no circumstances would all, or even the majority, go beyond an Intermediate education, but we know also that a University career is the reasonable and only legitimate completion for studies such as theirs.

A distinguished Irishman, the Conservative statesman, Lord Cairns, expressed this view in a happy metaphor when he spoke of the National system of Primary Education as the foundation, the Intermediate as the walls, and the University as the roof, of the entire structure. For Protestants and Presbyterians, the edifice is complete and available without the sacrifice of any religious principles. They have their Universities, richly endowed and splendidly equipped, where the cream of their youth have opened to them every career in which higher culture avails. As far as we, Irish Catholics, are concerned, there is no roof over us, and our educational system is incomplete, and, by that incompleteness, pernicious.

The only alternatives. It must be plain to everyone now that Irish Catholics, as a body, will not accept a university education which is either Protestant or godless. Catholic parents will not send their sons to Trinity College nor to the Queen's Colleges; and, consequently, the only alternatives practically remaining are either to keep the Catholics of Ireland in ignorance, and let them fall behind every other country in the world, or give them opportunities of University education which their consciences can accept.

Private resources inadequate. It is out of the question for us to hope to supply our needs by any private efforts or sacrifices. For many years we struggled to maintain the Catholic University of Ireland,

and the amount of money which was voluntarily subscribed to it was enormous in relation to our resources. But, aggravated as it was by the absence of all legal recognition for our University,¹ the unequal effort was found to be oppressive. This is a very poor country, and the Catholics are the poorest of its people. Even the generous provision which our forefathers had made for religion, and which would have enabled us to provide for education also, was long ago taken from us; and we have been forced, out of our poverty, to provide all the means for the maintenance of our Church and of its multifarious institutions. We have not, then, the means to endow a University for ourselves; and even if we were richer, it would be an unequal competition between us and Colleges richly endowed by public funds.

In these days, too, education is growing in costliness² to such an extent, that even in England, and in the great centres of manufacture and commerce, where the princely munificence of private citizens has founded magnificent colleges, we read of the appeals of the colleges of the Victoria University at Manchester, and Leeds, and Liverpool, to Parliament for increased grants to enable them to carry on their work. Surely if the maintenance of University Colleges is considered to be too much for the resources of perhaps the wealthiest communities in the world, it must be evident that in a poor country such as Ireland it is unreasonable and unjust to throw such a burden upon Catholics, and upon them alone.

The Catholic
claim.

What then do we claim? Simply to be put on an equality with our Protestant fellow-countrymen. We take Trinity College, Dublin, with its endowments and its privileges,

¹ See page 35.

² See pages 200, 201.

and seeing what is done by public funds and legal enactments for half a million of Protestants of the Disestablished Church of Ireland, we claim that at least as much should be done for the three and a-half million Catholics.

We do not seek to impair the efficiency of any institution. We do not want to take one shilling from the endowments of any other body. We look—apart from the consideration of our own inequality—with much admiration and sympathy upon the work which Trinity College and the Belfast Queen's College are doing. But we ask, as a matter of simple justice, that the Catholics of Ireland should be put on a footing of perfect equality with them.

How that equality is to be reached, it is not for us now to define. We have stated on many occasions that we are not irrevocably committed to any one principle of settlement,¹ and whether that settlement is carried out through a distinct Catholic University or through a College, we shall be prepared to consider any proposal with an open mind, and with a sincere desire to remove, rather than aggravate, difficulties.

The declared
policy of the
present
Government.

In putting forward this claim, we consider it not unreasonable on our part to take into account the declarations of the present Government on the subject of education.

If there is one principle more than another to which they stand committed, it is that of denominationalism in education. As far as abstract principles are involved, we might accept almost without qualification the statements on the subject made by the Prime Minister in recent speeches. And we cannot think that when it comes to an application of those principles, he will seek to limit it to

¹ See pages 91-93; 119, 120; and 356, 357.

countries which are mainly Protestant, such as England and Scotland.

If, then, our demand is in harmony with the principles which the Government professes, and if at the same time its concession is necessary in order to give the people of Ireland the educational advantages which are essential conditions of progress in a modern State, we can hardly believe that it will be either refused or postponed.

It is now twenty-three years since this
England and Ire-
land : a contrast. was made a Cabinet question,¹ and yet, in spite of the protests and the agitation of the Catholics of Ireland, in Parliament and out of it, in the meantime, we are practically in the same position as we were then. In England such a miscarriage of legislation on a matter of so much importance would be impossible. There Parliament responds to public opinion. The English people are able through their Parliamentary representatives to make and unmake Governments, and their maturely-formed wishes must be granted. Unfortunately it is not so in Ireland. Our wishes and our demands count for very little. We get whatever the Cabinet which has been formed by English public opinion thinks good for us ; but we are made to feel bitterly the uselessness of constitutional agitation on our part. Violence and excess obtain ready hearing, and lead to the redress of grievances ; but the constitutionally-expressed desire of the Irish people through Parliamentary elections and the action of her members of Parliament, count, unfortunately, for very little.

It is little wonder, then, that the minds of our people are alienated from their Government, and every day lose

¹ See page 42.

confidence in constitutional methods. This is a state of things which we regard as deplorable, but still quite natural. For over forty years we have been agitating this grievance of University education. At any time during all these years an overwhelming majority of our countrymen were in favour of our claims. In every way known to the Constitution we have urged them. At this moment, at least two-thirds of the Irish Members of Parliament are with us,¹ and speak and vote for us; and yet, while we see one generation after another of our young countrymen pass from the schools into active life with the mark of educational inferiority upon them, and our country, poor as she is in many respects, denied the opportunity of cultivating the wealth which God has given her, we are powerless to do more than complain, and wait in the hope that some enlightened British statesman may do something for us.

Perhaps reflection on the history of this one question may make clear to Englishmen why Irishmen desire the management of their own affairs, and stand aloof from the actual Government of the country in a spirit of distrust and alienation.

Yet, although our task is a weary one, we would ask our countrymen still to urge the claim for freedom of education, which in reality is freedom of religion; and we would impress upon our Parliamentary representatives the importance of pressing this question at all times on the attention of Parliament.

¹ See pages 483 and 493

XXXVII.

SPEECH AT THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF MEDICINE.

(November 18th, 1896.)



SPEECH AT THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF MEDICINE.

(*November 18th, 1896.*)

[The following speech was made by the Archbishop at the Catholic University School of Medicine, Cecilia-street, Dublin, on the occasion of the Distribution of Prizes in November, 1896.]

The Report referred to in the opening sentences of the speech was a Report from the Medical Faculty of the School. It dealt especially with the continuous and increasing success of the School, and with the heavy drawbacks to which the School is subject, in its competition with the endowed Medical Schools of the country, such as those of Trinity College, Dublin, and of the three Queen's Colleges.]

The Report
of the Medical
Faculty.

It is to be hoped that the very important Report that has just been read by the Dean of our Medical Faculty, Sir Christopher Nixon, may attract the speedy and serious notice of the responsible heads of the Irish Government. That Report brings out with great point and force the state of things with which we here find ourselves face to face. It is a state of things which I can only describe as thoroughly discreditable to the statesmen who are responsible for its continuance. The grievance that presses upon us, Irish Catholics, from the failure of successive Ministries to deal with our Irish University question, is one that is very far indeed from being confined to our School of Medicine. But bad, and lamentably bad, as the case is elsewhere, no one can hesitate to recognise that, of the many victims of this long-continued denial of fair play and common justice, you, the professors and students of

this Catholic University Medical School, are by far the most conspicuous sufferers.

The claims of
the Medical
School.

In no other department of our work in connection with University education in Ireland, has our claim to an endowment from the State been more solidly established than it has been by the brilliant results of the work of this Medical School.¹ On the other hand, in no other department of the work of higher education are the drawbacks that result from the absence of such an endowment more keenly felt than they are in this School of yours.

Mr. Balfour's
Partick speech.

You remember the speech, that great, and as I need not hesitate to call it, in many respects truly statesmanlike speech, that was made some years ago at Partick, in Scotland, by Mr. Balfour, the present First Lord of the Treasury, then Chief Secretary for Ireland.² Speaking of the requirements of University education in these days of ours, Mr. Balfour said :—

“Recollect that in these days University education cannot be made the cheap thing it used to be many years ago. There was a time when all that you required to constitute a University was a watertight roof, a certain number of teachers, a certain number of students, a few benches, and some blackboards.”³

Then he went on to say how all this has been changed, and he spoke of it as changed, “by the advance of medical and scientific training.” Appealing, as he well might, to the authority of Sir William Thomson, now Lord Kelvin, who was present, he declared with emphasis that—

“In order to teach science and medicine properly you require a most costly equipment.”⁴

¹ See page 477.

² See pages 193-203.

³ See page 200.

⁴ See pages 200-201.

You will observe that Mr. Balfour was not speaking merely of University education in general. His reference, and it was a pointed one, was to the special work of the Medical Faculty, including, of course, all those branches of science that should now be included in the course of every Medical School that wishes to keep abreast of its work and of the times.

Moreover, it is well to remember that
The Catholic University Medical School. he had specially in view the work of this Catholic School of ours. For, after laying down the necessity of the "costly equipment" of which he spoke, in connection with the teaching of medicine and of science, he went on to say—

"That costly equipment I do not believe will be provided, or can be provided, by the Roman Catholic population of Ireland, and my desire is, to help them to provide it."¹

Now, I have some few observations to
The Irish University Question. make on that very praiseworthy desire of Mr. Balfour to help us in the special work that we are engaged upon here. But let me, before doing so, ask you to remember that, important as the question of our Medical School here is, it is, as I have already observed, very far indeed from being the whole of our Irish University question. Mr. Balfour, in that great speech from which I am quoting, had other branches of our work of higher education in view as well. And, for more than one reason, I do not wish to-day to narrow down my observations to the case of our Medical School alone. But although I shall have to make a somewhat large demand upon your patience, it may be in some degree reassuring to you to say that I am not going to argue out our University question here to-day.

¹ See page 201.

As I view the case, that question has by this time passed out of the stage of argument. On former occasions, here as well as elsewhere, and notably on the occasion of that visit of mine to this school in 1889, to which a reference is made in your Report, I said, I think, all that need ever be said upon this question, so far as I am concerned, in the way of argument.¹ On what I then said, I, for my part, am prepared to rest my statement of the case.

I am satisfied, as I think I may well be, with the verdict on the case that was then pronounced by one of our Dublin newspapers, *The Dublin Evening Mail*. Only four years before, —I think it was in commenting on a speech that I made here when I first visited this school in 1885,—that lively organ of Dublin Protestant sentiment came out with a fiery leading article against me. The article, I am bound to say, was, on the whole, a fairly good-humoured one, as indeed, most of the articles are that are written from time to time in that newspaper in criticism of my views. Well, that article in September, 1885, began with a vigorous statement:—

“We hope that the Irish University question is not going to be galvanized into activity again. Everybody except Archbishop Walsh is sick of it.”²

That undoubtedly was not a very encouraging reception for a novice in the Archbishopric to meet with, on the very first occasion that he ventured to deal with this subject in a public speech. Then the writer of the article went on to say that, with the solitary exception, apparently, of myself, everyone in the community was satisfied with the existing state of things. “The Protestants,” he said, “are

¹ See pages 139-183.

² See page 61.

quite satisfied with Trinity College.”¹ Of course they were, and are, and why should they not be. The Presbyterians he represented as satisfied with Queen’s College, Belfast. And, within certain limits, that statement may be accepted as substantially true. As to the Catholics, he said, they had the Royal University, and then, summing up the case, he disposed as follows of my attempt to “galvanize into activity” the dead question of Irish University reform :—

“The country is well satisfied with the provisions made in it for University education, and is most reluctant to engage in any new discussion of a question so recently and so amicably settled.”²

All this, remember was in 1885 ; and then, in four short years, in an article on the subject of my visit to this school in 1889, the gratifying confession was candidly made that the case for a fundamental change had been fully made out ; that certain arguments which I had put put forward here were “conclusive ;” that “no fair-minded man could evade the force” of them ; and then the case was summed up in the satisfactory declaration—

“In Ireland all religious denominations are now on a footing of equality before the law. The religious opinions of all are alike entitled to respect. . . The opinions held on mixed education by the Roman Catholic Church are the natural and necessary consequences of the whole system of Roman Catholic doctrine.”³

That was the point that I specially aimed at bringing out in my speech here that day. I seem to have made one important convert at all events—

“The Archbishop, we think, is perfectly triumphant in his assault on mixed education. . . There seems no resource left but a Catholic University, pure and simple, with such Catholic Colleges as may be required to prepare its examinees.”⁴

¹ See page 61.² See page 62³ See pages 188, 189.*Ibid.*

Trinity College,
Dublin: friendly
speeches.

Then it was not long after, that we had, in November, 1891, those speeches that so many of you doubtless remember, at the opening meeting of the Session of the College Historical Society in Trinity College,¹ when speaker after speaker, beginning with Judge Webb, and ending with Lord Justice Fitzgibbon, the Chairman of the meeting, concurred in the declaration that—

“The only thing that would preserve their own University from incessant attack, and afford a final, because satisfactory, solution of the University question, was the establishment of another University in Ireland, Catholic, chartered and endowed.”²

For my part, in view of all this, and of much more besides, I rest thoroughly content in my conviction that our University question has long since passed out beyond the stage of argument; that further argument in support of our position would be mere waste of time; and that now nothing more is needed than to press forward with vigour the claim that has admittedly been made good. But whilst I abstain from what I have to regard as the superfluous work of piling up arguments in support of that claim, I may, I think, with some utility call attention to a few important facts that may serve to bring out the strength of our position in the clearest light.

Successes of the
Catholic Colleges.

Your Report most properly calls attention to the striking successes of the students of this School in their competition with the students of the three Queen's Colleges at the examinations of the Royal University. I am sure the last thing you would think of would be to take all the praise of our Catholic successes to yourselves. I have something, indeed, to say in confirmation of what is said in the Report about

¹ See pages 247-253.

² See page 250.

the Medical examinations. But before I come to this, let us have a word about the work of our Colleges in the Faculty of Arts.

The Faculty
of Arts.

Mr. Balfour, in his Partick speech, did not confine himself to the Faculty of Medicine. We may follow his example.

“Recollect this,” he said :—

“The Roman Catholics have shown that their objection to the present system [of endowed University Colleges in Ireland] is not a passing objection, but one which is likely to be permanent, and that it is one for which they are prepared to make great sacrifices. Because though they are . . . the poorest part of the community, yet, rather than be educated at those endowed Colleges . . . they have themselves started, and are now working with considerable profit to the higher education of their communion, more than one College in Dublin and its neighbourhood.”¹

Well, we know the Colleges, especially the two leading Colleges, “in Dublin and its neighbourhood,” that Mr. Balfour referred to. And it seems to me that it may not be without advantage to state a few facts by way of showing that, as the words of commendation in which he spoke of those Colleges were amply sustained by the official lists of the Honours and other distinctions of the Royal University then before the public, so now to-day those Colleges, and their work should be spoken of, to say the least of it, in terms of no less emphatic commendation by anyone who might have occasion to refer to them, taking in the wider prospect that, after seven further years, is now laid out before us in the results of the Royal University examinations from the beginning.

Take first the absolutely unendowed University College, College of Blackrock. See its roll of distinguished graduates of the Royal University, and its long lists of University Honours and

¹ See page 200.

University Exhibitions. Compare with all this the poor show that is made by either of those two Queen's Colleges¹ of Cork and Galway, those Colleges that are maintained by the State at a cost of thousands and Unequal conditions. thousands of pounds a year, all the public money that is squandered upon them being duly entered down, as something that Ireland is to give credit for, in the great international balance-sheet between this poor country and wealthy England.

Official
figures. In the contrast I make between that wholly unendowed College of Blackrock, and those two endowed Colleges of Cork and Galway, I am not talking at random, or indulging in mere vague declamation. I have made it my business within the last few weeks, in connection with another matter upon which I am just now engaged, to make a careful examination, I may say indeed a careful study, of the Calendars of the Royal University for the last twelve years. I make this comparison on the lines that I have always followed in such comparisons, as I have more than once explained here before now. I have not worked it out by any process of picking and choosing. I have gone back to the beginning, that is, to the year 1884-5, the year in which our Colleges were first got fully under weigh in the work of the University Examinations of the Faculty of Arts, up to, and including, the examination for the B.A. Degree. Dealing, of course, only with the distinctions won by male students—a restriction obviously necessary for the fairness of the comparison—I have included in my statement every examination in the Faculty of Arts, held by the Royal University in all those years—the First Examination in Arts, the Second Exami-

¹ See page 33, and the pages there referred to in *footnote 4*.

nation, and the Examination for the B.A. Degree. And what was the result?

Queen's College, Galway, has 160
 A sad contrast. Honours, Cork has 124; but Blackrock has 192. Take the list of Exhibitions. Galway has 54, Cork has 44; but Blackrock has 69. Or, if we confine ourselves to the very highest range of distinctions, taking into account only the Honours and Exhibitions of the First Class, how do the figures stand? Galway has 38 First Class Honours, Cork has 33; but Blackrock has 57: and of the First Class Exhibitions, whilst Galway has but 15, and Cork 11, Blackrock has 21.

So far for Blackrock. As for our
 University College, Dublin, University College in Stephen's-green, not to trouble you with too many figures, all I need now say is that, having long since distanced in the race the Colleges of Cork and Galway, that College has begun within the last few years to measure its strength with the one really successful College of the Queen's College system, the undoubtedly and eminently successful College in Belfast, and that, on the results of the examinations of those last few years, University College, Stephen's-green, compared even with Queen's College, Belfast, now holds indisputably the first place on the list.¹

But high as the claims are of those other
 The Catholic University Medical School. colleges, there is no other place of higher education in Dublin or in Ireland that has a better claim than this Medical School of yours to be ranked, and to have a high place, amongst those colleges spoken of by Mr. Balfour as working with such advantage for the education of Catholic students. As I have already stated to you, I have had occasion of late to make a

¹ See the detailed tabulated statements on page 476.

somewhat close study of the examination lists of the Royal University. I am therefore in a position to confirm—if indeed confirmation could be necessary—to confirm by my personal testimony the statements made in the Report read for us to-day, as to the brilliant success of the students of this School at the examinations of the Royal University.

The Medical
licensing bodies.

And here let me say a word upon that exceedingly satisfactory paragraph in the Report which tells of the successes of the students of this School, not only at the examinations of the Royal University, but at those of the other licensing bodies as well. The reputation of our School has to be upheld, and I know how creditably it has been upheld, at the examinations of the "Conjoint Colleges," and in the prize lists of our city hospitals. If I do not dwell in further detail upon the successes of our students in those special fields of distinction, it is only because I have not in this case the opportunity, which the official Calendar gives me in the case of the examinations of the Royal University, of setting down accurately in definite figures the result of our work in this respect as compared with the work of other institutions.

The Medical
examination of
the Royal Uni-
versity.

Coming back, then, to the Medical examinations of the Royal University, how do we stand? I have made out the results on lines precisely similar to those which I have already explained to you in the case of the Faculty of Arts, taking the very same wide basis of comparison—that is to say, including all the examinations that have been held by the Royal University in the Faculty of Medicine, up to and including the M.B. Degree, for the entire period of twelve years, beginning in 1884-5,

and ending with the examinations of the present year, the results of which were announced a few weeks ago. I made such a comparison here, seven years ago,¹ in 1889. I made another in 1890 covering the further period that had intervened.² I now bring down the results to date.

I have said that I am in a position to confirm by my personal testimony the accuracy of the statement made in the Report. But I am, in fact, in a position to do something more. For I find that, in compiling your record of distinctions, you seem to have been at pains in every possible way to understate your case. For instance, at the First Medical Examination, the Royal University, for the last few years, has awarded Honours separately in each of the scientific subjects of the examination, Chemistry, Botany, and so on. You have not taken account, as you might have done, of these Honours as so many separate distinctions. You have taken account only of the number of individual students to whom Honours have been awarded. This necessarily pulls down the numbers. It does so, no doubt, in the case of the Queen's Colleges as well as in your own. But from my acquaintance with the lists, I can state that it affects your numbers far more disadvantageously than it affects theirs. So that, with a modesty not usually met with in such statements of College successes and distinctions, you have deliberately adopted a way of stating the case which considerably understates the notable advantages you have gained. I do not at all object to you doing this. But I am very glad that my familiarity with these lists has given me the opportunity of pointing out that you have done so.

Then I notice another point. You take no account of

¹See page 175.

²See page 274.

Exhibitions awarded by the Royal University in cases where, though the successful student was declared entitled to the Exhibition by his distinguished answering, the Exhibition was not actually awarded to him, as he was excluded by his University standing from obtaining more than the honour of the award. Now, as in the former case, this way of counting the Exhibitions may have something to recommend it. But my experience of such matters is that when there are two ways, though each of them may be perfectly fair way, of stating a number of successful results, no matter which way we may select, some critic is very likely to start up in the newspapers, proclaiming that the principle followed, is the wrong one. In this way, the credit of a notable success such as yours is often obscured, and the public, knowing nothing of the real merits of the case, are led to believe that this counting up of successes is all a piece of legerdemain, and that, no matter how a case may stand in reality, any given result may be brought out by a skilful manipulation of the figures.

The Official
Returns.

Now I think it useful in this case to close the door firmly against the devices of critics of that sort. So I have brought with me here a statement of the results, taking them simply as they are set down in the Royal University Calendar, counting as an Honour or as an Exhibition, each Honour, or each Exhibition, that is recorded in the University lists. Thus, between your statement of the case and mine, our critics can have their choice.

But before giving the figures, I may state in advance that striking as the statement is which you have given in your Report, the case is far more strikingly in your favour when stated as I am stating it, taking the entries in the Royal University Calendar as they stand, and applying

none of those principles of deduction which you have so impartially applied all round.

You say, in your Report, that—

“Since 1885, there have been awarded, amongst the three Queen’s Colleges and the Catholic University Medical School, 61 First Honours and 43 First Class Exhibitions at the Medical Examinations. Of these, 25 First Honours and 21 First Class Exhibitions have been secured by students of this School; 23 First Honours, and 14 First Class Exhibitions by the Belfast Queen’s College; 11 and 7 respectively by Cork, and 2 First Honours and 1 First Class Exhibition by Galway.”

Even stated in this way, with all the deductions applied, the record of your success, in your competition with these three endowed Colleges, stands forth as a marvellous tribute to the brilliancy, as well as solid excellence, of the work of this School. But now take the case as I have taken it from the Calendar,¹ without applying to any of the Colleges any of those principles of deduction. The number of First Class Honours at those Medical Examinations for the period of twelve years was 104. Of these, Belfast has carried off 34, about one-third of the whole, but your number is 48, very nearly once and a half as many as the number for Belfast. As against your 48, Cork has the miserable figure of 16. Galway stands still lower, with only 6. Then let us take the higher distinction of First Class Exhibitions. In the lists of these Exhibitions in the Royal University Calendar, I find that the total number for the twelve years is 52. Of these Belfast has 19, whilst you have 23, the corresponding numbers for those favoured Colleges in Cork and Galway amounting only to 10 for those two Queen’s Colleges taken together, Cork having only 8 in all, against your 23, and Galway making a bad finish with only 2.

Now I do most earnestly trust that these figures—official

¹ See the tabulated statement on page 477.

figures, remember, every one of them,—may in some way be brought under the notice of those members of the Government, whoever they may be, who are responsible for the maintenance of the present arrangements connected with University education in Ireland. I no less earnestly trust that they may be brought under the notice of some of our Irish members of Parliament.

Where the
blame lies.

It is all very well to blame the Government in matters such as this. In my view of the case, no small share of the blame has to be borne by every public representative—I do not care of what politics he may be—who sees public money voted in a way that he disapproves of, and who never either by speech or by vote, protests against the ill-judged and indefensible expenditure.

Now, bearing upon this very point, there is, in the Parliamentary history of the Irish education question for the last few years, a most instructive illustration of the way in which public interests are sacrificed by the neglect of public duty on the part of those who are so eager at election times to undertake its discharge. It is a matter very closely concerning your interests here. It arises out of Mr. Balfour's speech at Partick, to which I have already to-day made more than one reference.¹

Mr. Balfour's
Partick Speech:
the Presbyterians
of Belfast, and
the Catholics
of Ireland.

That speech was a sympathetic and characteristically able appeal to public opinion, in favour of getting something substantial done for the endowment of Catholic higher education in Ireland. It was addressed especially to public opinion in Scotland, and in Presbyterian circles in the North of Ireland, where the existing state of public opinion on the point was well known to be decidedly hostile to any project

¹ See pages 428 and 433.

of the kind. Mr. Balfour very skilfully, but at the same time very naturally, reminded his hearers, and the public at large, that for work in aid of higher education there was room in Ireland in more directions than one. He referred to Belfast. It was at the close of one of the passages I have already quoted :—

“In order to teach science and medicine properly, you require a most costly equipment. That equipment I do not believe will be provided, or can be provided, by the Roman Catholic population of Ireland; and my desire is to help them to provide it, and not to help them only, but to help, for example, Queen’s College, Belfast.”¹

And then he explained this reference to Belfast as follows :—

“I had a letter the other day from the head of that College. He pointed out to me, and pointed out to me truly, that, good as the work was which they were doing, they required more public help before they could effectively carry out all the work which they are capable of doing.”²

All perfectly true. Then Mr. Balfour went on :—

“I had to reply to him that I was most anxious to do something for Belfast, and the great Presbyterian interests which are involved in Belfast, but that it was absolutely impossible for me with decency to go to the House of Commons and say, ‘I want three or four thousand a year more for the Presbyterians of Queen’s College, Belfast, unless I accompany that with some proposal to meet the even greater necessities of the Catholic population in the rest of Ireland.’”³

An encouraging
statement.

Nothing, on the face of it, could be more satisfactory, more full of encouragement, for the Catholics of Ireland, than to find it thus proclaimed in sympathetic tones that their still unsatisfied claims stood as an insuperable barrier in the way of the much-needed and loudly called for addition to the additional equipment of the medical and scientific departments of Queen’s College, Belfast. I say that it

¹ See page 201.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

was full of encouragement for us, for, as we all know, the Presbyterians of Belfast have the happy knack of so pressing forward their claims that it is infallibly certain that in the end, no matter what Government may be in power, they will obtain any solid benefit they are in earnest in looking for. It was decidedly encouraging then to us to find that in this case it was to be a "condition precedent" to the concession of their claim, that the State assistance so long denied to us, Irish Catholics, in the matter of higher education, should first be granted to us.

I should perhaps explain that the claim
 The Belfast claims:
 Dr. Porter. of the Belfast College for further assistance from the State was not put forward for the first time in the letter of the present President, Dr. Hamilton, to which Mr. Balfour referred in that speech in 1889. It was a claim of old standing. In his Report, for instance, for 1880, Dr. Hamilton's predecessor, Dr. Porter, enumerated, amongst "urgent wants" of the College, new class-rooms and a new laboratory in the department of chemistry, and a physical and engineering laboratory, with sundry other additions to the College buildings.¹ Year after year, the same points continued to be pressed. After a time, Dr. Porter's Reports began to mention that plans and specifications for the proposed enlargements had been prepared—of course at the public expense—by the Board of Works.² Still, successive Ministries very naturally shrank from the responsibility of asking Parliament for further funds for Queen's College purposes, whilst the claim of the Catholics of Ireland, that some provision should be made for University education, under a system that would be not merely nominally, but really, open to them, as a body, remained unsatisfied.

¹ See page 335.

² See page 336.

The Belfast claim pressed. The claim from Belfast, however, continued to be pressed with exemplary persistence. In the College Report for 1883-84 came the pathetic wail that "Belfast appears to be overlooked or forgotten ;" and so on from year to year.¹ In his last Report, presented in July, 1888, not long before his lamented death, Dr. Porter complained of what he called the "shortsighted policy," which, as he put it, allowed a College like that of Belfast to be "enfeebled" and "starved," by withholding the comparatively small sum needed for the additional buildings, which, he said, was "only" £8,000. Now enfeeblement and starvation on an allowance of £10,000 a year is, after all, a process that some other less favoured institutions, of which we here know something, might well regard as not altogether devoid of advantages.

In this Report, Dr. Porter complained that a College such as his should be so badly treated, situated as it was in the very centre of the manufactories "which form the chief source of the wealth and prosperity of Ulster." Throughout he seems to have taken it as a sort of first principle that, notwithstanding all the "wealth and prosperity," even the comparatively small sum of £8,000 could not be had unless it could be obtained in the form of a Government grant.²

Do not suppose that I think for a moment of blaming Dr. Porter or his successor, Dr. Hamilton, for the line they have taken in this matter. Quite the contrary ; I admire them for it ; and in so far as they have been successful, I congratulate Dr. Hamilton and his College on their success. Such people deserve to win.

¹ See page 336.

² See page 337.

Dr. Porter having died without succeeding in the claim he had so long been pressing, that claim was taken up by his successor, the present respected President, Dr. Hamilton. In his very first Report, in July, 1889, Dr. Hamilton sturdily protested against the continued unwillingness of the Government to grant the additional sum sought for :—

“It is surely a pity [he said] that an institution such as this . . . capable of promoting the highest education of the youth of this flourishing and rapidly increasing city, and of the whole province of Ulster, should be crippled from year to year for lack of an expenditure of some £8,000 or £9,000.”¹

The prospect, however, of that “crippled,” as well as “enfeebled” and “starved,” College failed to move Mr. Balfour beyond the point of saying that he deeply sympathised with Belfast, but that there was a more pressing need, the need of the Catholics of Ireland, which had a prior claim upon his attention and upon the statesmanship of England.² But Belfast, to its credit, simply paid no heed to the serious check it had apparently received from Mr. Balfour, and in the very next Report, that for 1890, the old claim was again put forward, and the old complaint and the old protest were renewed. Even Mr. Balfour’s happily chosen word “equipment” was pressed into the service. All the changes rung upon it. The “growing demands of modern education” were relied upon, and all the rest of it. Still it continued to be taken for granted that no matter how the interests of higher education were to suffer from the “starved,” “enfeebled,” and “crippled,” condition of a College for which the State was doing so much, neither

Mr. Balfour on
the Belfast claim.

¹ See page 338.

² See page 201.

the inhabitants of the "flourishing and rapidly increasing" city, nor those of the "wealthy and prosperous" province, would put their hands in their pockets to save that College from destruction.

Persistence
rewarded.

Well, as events turned out, they were right. For before the time came round for the President of the College to present his next annual Report, the persistence with which he had pressed his claim had triumphed. The "greater necessities" of the Catholics of Ireland had been lost sight of, and Dr. Hamilton was able to express his acknowledgments to the Government for having sanctioned a considerable portion of the expenditure for which sanction had so long been sought in vain. Where were our members of Parliament? Dr. Hamilton's Report was in their hands. Did they read it? Was there no one to call attention to the policy of the Partick speech? Or, again, did they read the Parliamentary Estimates for the year? Surely if they did they must have seen there the entry under the heading, Queen's College, Belfast:—

"Improvement of Schools £2,500."

Further con-
cessions to
Belfast.

This, apparently, was the grant for the new Chemical Laboratories and class rooms for which Dr. Hamilton very naturally expressed his acknowledgments in his Report in the following July. But that was only the beginning of it. Dr. Hamilton—whom again I wish sincerely to congratulate on his deserved success so far—went on in this Report to ask for more. And he got it. Moreover, from that day to this, he has kept, year after year, asking for more, and getting more. Am I to assume that he has been getting it with the knowledge of our Irish representatives in Parliament? If so, what are they there

for? Or again, if they have not been aware of this long series of Parliamentary facts, I may well ask, on another ground, what are they there for?

Here are the Parliamentary facts to which I refer. In the Estimates for 1891-92 there appeared that item of £2,500 which I have already mentioned. In the Estimates for 1892-93 there is a heading, "New Works and Alterations, Queen's College, Belfast: Chemical Laboratory." The previous provision of £2,500 apparently not having been found sufficient, provision is made for a further grant bringing up the amount to £4,134. In the Estimates for 1894-95, Dr. Hamilton having in the meantime poured in several additional volleys of claims, complaints, and protests, the Government made a further surrender to his demands. Provision was made for a further set of buildings estimated to cost £2,500.

That word "estimated" implies an important qualification. For, the Parliamentary volume, known as the "Appropriation Account," gives evidence that the amounts sanctioned in the "Estimates" have had to be largely supplemented by further grants. Thus, the "Appropriation Account" for 1893-94 discloses the fact that the expenditure on the first set of buildings, estimated at £4,134, had run up to £5,219 odd, an excess of over £1,000. Again the "Appropriation Account" for 1894-95 shows that even a further sum had to be expended to complete the expenditure.¹

I have carefully totted up these figures. The result. They disclose the startling fact that within the three years, from 1891 to 1894, within two years of Mr. Balfour's Partick speech, the Irish Government had made no scruple of going to the House

¹ See pages 341-348.

of Commons, and obtaining sanction for an extra expenditure on Belfast Queen's College of £7,842, with such further sum as the extra expenditure on the second set of buildings, undertaken at an estimated cost of £2,500, may amount to.¹

No question of
political party.

Now I wish to make it perfectly plain that I am not putting the blame of this transaction upon any particular set of statesmen. There was a change of Ministry within the period I have been speaking of. But no matter what Ministry was in office, no matter who was Prime Minister, no matter who was Lord Lieutenant, no matter who was Chief Secretary, the policy of the Partick speech was forgotten, Belfast got all it asked for, and we, the Catholics of Ireland, got nothing at all.

Further claims
from Belfast.

Have we even yet come to the end of this? I trust that my exposure of it to-day may not be without some effect. But it is only right to say that there is danger ahead. I got, a few days ago, a copy of the President's Report of Belfast College for the last year, just now published. What do I find in it? A strong appeal for further buildings and more money. Three additional buildings, described as much needed, are enumerated. But Dr. Hamilton very candidly states that he enumerates these, not at all as exhausting the list of wants, but, he says, "because they stand first, in my opinion, in the order of necessity." Then see how he puts this further claim upon the public purse:

"I trust [he says] that the State will extend a judicious encouragement to the exercise of local beneficence by dealing in a liberal spirit with such necessities as I have now mentioned."

Now I, for my part, sincerely endorse the expression of Dr. Hamilton's wish. But I must earnestly protest against

¹ See page 348, footnote 2.

any such course being taken, until, in the words of the Partick speech,¹ the "greater necessities" of the Catholics of Ireland have been attended to.

Mr. Balfour and
his colleagues.

Mr. Balfour is now in a position of far higher responsibility, and of greater influence and power, than when that speech was made by him. I trust that we may appeal to him now, not only to do all that he was then disposed to do, but to make up to us, by an even fuller recognition of our claims, for the seven years of delayed justice that have elapsed since then. He has in the Irish Government, colleagues who surely may be relied upon to co-operate heartily in any such measure of reform. The present Chief Secretary has in Parliament expressed himself as in sympathy with us;² and the Lord Lieutenant in an important public speech in Belfast³ has mentioned the Irish University question as prominent amongst those with which the present Government, as he expressed it, "will have to deal."

You will pardon me, gentlemen, for the great length at which I have spoken. My excuse must be found in my conviction of the vital importance of the subject; the deep interest that I take in it; and the close and direct bearing it has upon your professional interests, and upon the fortunes of this School.

¹ See page 201.

² See pages 413, 414.

³ See page 413.

XXXVIII.

LETTER TO *THE DUBLIN EVENING MAIL*.

(*November 21st, 1896.*)



LETTER TO *THE DUBLIN EVENING MAIL*

(November 21st, 1896.)

[The following letter from the Archbishop was published in *The Dublin Evening Mail* of the 21st November, 1896. The strange statement in reference to which the letter was written is indicated in its first and second paragraphs.]

ARCHBISHOP'S HOUSE,
DUBLIN, 20th November, 1896.

SIR,

In your article of yesterday evening on my recent speech¹ at the Catholic University School of Medicine you make a statement which, if we could take it as well-founded, should be regarded as bringing very welcome news to the Catholic body in Ireland.

You undertake to explain why the
A lame excuse. University project "hangs fire." "All English parties," you say, "and the Irish members with them, are waiting to learn what kind of University the Irish Roman Catholics want." And then you state the point about which information is waited for. As to the contemplated University, "is it to be a University under the exclusive control of the hierarchy, or is it to be one in which the laity would have any power?"

Now, if this were the first time on which ridiculous questions such as this were put, it would be easier than it is to read them with patience, and to answer them with

¹ See pages 427-448.

becoming civility. Though you may not have intended anything of the kind, such questions seem to me to be wanting in common courtesy to the body to which they refer. If your questions have any point, they imply that the Irish Hierarchy, in pressing forward the claim to have State provision made for the University education of the Catholics of Ireland, are seeking for the establishment and endowment of a University under exclusively episcopal, or at all events exclusively ecclesiastical management. In implying this, you very plainly imply that the Catholic Bishops of Ireland are simply wanting in the most rudimentary elements of common sense.

All this is bad enough. But, to make
An exploded
fiction revived.
the matter very much worse, this is by no means the first time that so ridiculous and insulting a point has been raised. Not yet twelve months ago, on the 11th of December, 1895, you published editorially a paragraph referring to a letter of mine in which I had urged the claim of Irish Catholics to have an adequate provision for Catholic University education in Ireland made by the State. You said that to recognise the right of the laity to have a share in the government of any University that might thus be established, "would not suit the prelates who make the demand for equality in the name of the Irish people."¹

I at once wrote to you, correcting your erroneous impression.² I informed you that you had been "strangely misled." I described the statement as one that "could not mislead any intelligent, well-informed, Catholic," adding, for the information of your Protestant readers, or at least of any amongst them who possibly might need an

¹ See page 373.

² *Ibid.*

authoritative assurance on the point, that the statement which you had been led into making was "wildly at variance with fact."

In your ordinary spirit of fair play, you published this strong statement and protest of mine, stating that you did so willingly and readily.

What is the meaning, then, of your now returning to the exploded fiction, and leading the public to believe that if only an assurance could be had that the University which we look for was not to be "under the exclusive control of the hierarchy," the requisite funds for its establishment would be at once forthcoming in Parliament, and there would be an end of the "delay of justice" which you describe as moving my indignation and surprise?

I remain, Sir,

Your faithful servant,

✠ WILLIAM J. WALSH,

Archbishop of Dublin.



XXXIX.

SPEECH AT BLACKROCK COLLEGE.

(December 17th, 1896.)



SPEECH AT BLACKROCK COLLEGE.

(December 17th, 1896.)

[The following is the latter portion of a speech delivered by the Archbishop in Blackrock College, on the 17th of December, 1896, on the occasion of his unveiling a memorial bust of the late Rev. J. E. Reffé, formerly Dean of Studies in that College.]

A few weeks ago, speaking at our
Successes at the
Royal University
Examination. Catholic University Medical School in
Dublin, on the successes of our leading
Catholic Colleges at the examination of
the Royal University, I had an opportunity of speaking of
the marvellous success of your University College.¹ I did
so at greater length than it would be fair for me to speak
upon that topic towards the close of a speech such as this.
Taking the official returns of all the honours and distinc-
tions won at the Royal University for the last twelve
years, in the various examinations in the Faculty of Arts,
up to and including the examination for the B.A. degree,
I mentioned in detail some sensationally significant facts.
I may briefly recapitulate them here to-day.

A striking
contrast. I contrasted your absolutely unendowed
University College with the endowed
Queen's Colleges of Cork and Galway,
costing, each of them, to the public, about £10,000
a year. The Royal University Calendars and official lists
for that period of twelve years show us that whilst
Blackrock, without one penny of endowment, or of State

¹ See pages 432-435.

aid or State recognition of any kind, has carried off in these twelve years 192 Honours, Galway has only 160 to its credit, and Cork only 124. Next, I took the list of Exhibitions. Of these I found that whilst Blackrock has 69, Galway has but 54, and Cork but 44. Then, passing to the still higher test, the number of First-class Honours and of First-class Exhibitions, I found that, of the former, the First-class Honours, whilst Cork has 33, and Galway 38, Blackrock has 57; and that, in the highest range of all, the First-class Exhibitions, whilst Cork has only 11, and Galway only 15, Blackrock has 21.

On that same occasion, I was able to draw a similar contrast between the lists of high Honours and Exhibitions in the case of our Catholic University Medical School on the one hand, and the work of the three Queen's Colleges on the other.¹

I see that an attempt was made a few days afterwards in the newspapers, by some rather venturesome champion of the Galway Queen's College, to minimize the effect of my figures. He said it was all the result of the constitution of the Boards of Examiners at the Royal University, inasmuch as the Galway College was not at all as fully represented as it ought to be on the Examining Boards.²

Now, I should like to know how that affects me. Am I responsible for the undoubtedly peculiar method in which the Senate of the Royal University chooses to conduct its examinations?³ It is pretty well known that I am a member of the Board of National Education, and also of

¹ See pages 435-439.

² This was an old device, See pages 114, 115.

³ See pages 300-301.

the Intermediate Education Board. Why am I not a member of the Senate of the Royal University?¹ Simply and solely because I found it impossible to reconcile with my notions of fair play and justice the principle on which the examining boards of that body are constituted, and the method in which its examinations are conducted.² And this, in fact, is the point of contact, to which I referred at the beginning, between Father Reffé's work and mine, in connection with the Royal University.

An obnoxious principle challenged. Twelve years ago, on a day that I have no doubt will ultimately be a memorable one in the history of that examining body, it was endeavoured to make at least some inroad upon the working of the obnoxious principle on which its examinations are conducted.

The examination system of the Royal University. The system, briefly stated, is this—that the examinations, not merely the Pass and Honour examinations, but the competitive examinations for the Exhibitions, Scholarships, and other valuable prizes of the University—a competition, say, between this most honourably distinguished College of Blackrock and the Queen's Colleges of Cork and Galway,—the examination is held, the examination papers being set, and the awards of the prizes determined, by a number of examiners, amongst whom you have not a single representative, whilst your competitors have the enormous advantage of being examined by some of their own College professors. At the Catholic side, only one of our Colleges enjoys that advantage³—a College that undoubtedly is entitled, and eminently entitled, to every advantage that can fairly be conferred on it;—but this, as I have always maintained, and must continue to maintain,

¹ See pages 114, 115; and 300, 301.² *Ibid.*³ See pages 44, 45.

is an advantage that no College, Catholic or Protestant, ought to have in any system of examination in which the element of competition finds a prominent place.

A move for fair play. In 1884, as I have said, it was considered that something should be done at least to minimize the evil; and Father Reffé,

as an eminently successful teacher, and as a representative of your most successful University College, was proposed for election as a Fellow of the University—the Fellows forming an elected body of professors of several Colleges, entrusted with the office of University examiners.

A minority of three. Father Reffé's election was proposed by Cardinal M'Cabe. The Cardinal had

come to the meeting of the Senate from a meeting of the Educational Committee of the Irish Bishops, and it was known that his Eminence acted as the representative of his colleagues. I was then President of Maynooth, and a member of the Senate, and I claimed the privilege of seconding the proposal. It was supported by the venerable Bishop of Ardagh, Dr. Woodlock, the former Rector of our Catholic University. A division was taken. The result was that we who had stood up for even this small instalment of fair play for Blackrock, were left in a minority of three. The majority against us, in favour of the undiluted monopoly represented by the existing system, was, I think, 25.

Estoppel. The result was an instructive one. We three ecclesiastics—including the two

Bishops who were the representatives of the Catholic Bishops of Ireland on the Senate—had endeavoured to have Father Reffé elected as an assertion of the principle of representation on the examining Board, and we were defeated by an overwhelming vote, the majority

against us including, of course, the Presidents of the three Queen's Colleges, some of whose champions are now crying out that they are hurt by the existing system.¹ They at all events have little right to set up such a complaint. There is a doctrine known to lawyers under the name of estoppel, and if ever there was a case for its application it is here.

In protest against the whole proceedings of that day, Cardinal M'Cabe resigned his place on the Senate. So also I resigned mine.² It was the only effective expression of sympathy we could tender to Father Reffé, and the only effective protest we could make against the system that was being upheld.

I pass no judgment upon the distinguished men who are now members of that Senate. They have their own reasons doubtless for continuing to uphold a system that to me seems obviously at variance with the most elementary notions of fair play. Considerations of many kinds must, no doubt, be taken account of in such a case.

I have sometimes indeed felt inclined to doubt whether in my regard for Father Reffé, and in my desire to make some strong protest against the way in which the candidature of so eminently distinguished a teacher was dealt with, I may not have taken an unduly unfavourable view of the system with which I then declined to have anything more to do. At the time, it was pressed upon me from outside that I

¹ See pages 115 and 458.

² I did not do so, however, until I had ascertained that the Senate meant to persist in maintaining the system of examination, for the continued maintenance of which I found it impossible to make myself in any degree responsible.

Cardinal M'Cabe, in compliance with a pressing personal request from Earl Spencer, then Lord Lieutenant, had in the meantime withdrawn his formal resignation. But he never again attended a meeting of the Senate.

should not resign, but should rather remain a member of the Senate, and that the presence there of even one steadfast opponent of the indefensible system could not but ensure its speedy downfall. Now one of the most difficult of practical problems to have to solve is that very question of how far a person can promote the interests of a cause by continuing a member of a body that is decidedly, and by a strong majority, adverse to his view. In this case I felt bound to withdraw from all share in the responsibility for a system of examinations so conducted. It might be that by my withdrawal I was really postponing the introduction of the reform for which I had struggled. It was represented to me that the system was already tottering; that its downfall was but a matter of time, and of a very short time; that it was bad policy to give up the struggle; and so forth.

Well, I soon had the satisfaction of knowing that, whilst my retirement had the effect of freeing myself from all further responsibility for what was going on there, the principle of opposition to such a mode of conducting examinations could lose nothing by that retirement. For my place upon the Senate was taken by one who might be relied upon to protest, and to do so with persistency and with unflinching courage, against the maintenance of the obnoxious system.

An outspoken
statement.

Very soon afterwards, we had from my distinguished successor on the Senate—Dr. Healy, the present Bishop of Clonfert—an outspoken and thoroughly well-reasoned statement of his views upon the point. To bring my speech to a close, I will read for you some few sentence of this most important statement. You will find it in full in *The Dublin Review* of January, 1890.

Speaking of one or two drawbacks to the full success of the Royal University, Dr. Healy says :—

“The second great drawback to the full success of the Royal University arises from the fact that its Fellows are at once teachers and examiners ; that is, examiners both of their own students, and of outsiders who have not had the advantage of attending to the course of lectures given by the examiner in the very subject in which he examines.

“This system is intrinsically dangerous to the fairness of the examinations, for no matter how painstaking and conscientious the examiner may be, he is naturally inclined to set those questions which are before his own mind with special prominence.”

Now, the Bishop of Clonfert is not a man to indulge in mere vague declamation. He proceeds to reason out the case :—

“It is obvious that in that case a student attending the course of lectures given by the examiner will in most subjects have a very decided advantage over the student who never heard that examiner open his lips. And when, in answer to the questions put, the examiner gets back his own views, he is more likely to think them correct in those subjects where a divergence of opinion is inevitable than the views of other men.

“It is very difficult, therefore, for the examiner to act with perfect impartiality as judge between the students taught by himself and those taught by another person in the same subjects. Even his very anxiety to be honest may cause him to be unfair to his own men, as we know to have sometimes happened ; but, generally speaking, it will be the other way ; an unconscious bias for his own views and opinions will lead him to set his own favourite questions, and to give perhaps greater weight to those answers in which they are carefully reproduced, to his own great mental delectation.”

And, again, applying all this to the case in hand, Dr. Healy says with great point and force :—

“The system of indirectly endowing a school or college by giving large salaries to its professors as University examiners,¹ with the duty of testing the relative merits of their own pupils and of outsiders, is essentially a dangerous and unsatisfactory system. It cannot last in

¹ See pages 44, 45.

the Royal University, and it must be changed in the interests of justice and fair play. . . .

"The present arrangement of fellowships, as a means of giving a small indirect endowment to one or two colleges, was never intended to be permanent—it was a makeshift for a time, and served a useful purpose for a while; but the sooner it is got rid of, the better for all parties concerned."

My friend, the Bishop of Clonfert, "The sooner it is got rid of, the better." sometimes says to me that I go a little too far in my condemnation of the system, and in this very article of his he demurs to the propriety of some words of mine on the subject. Well, I have no difficulty whatever in now publicly withdrawing every word that I may at any time have said upon that subject, endorsing, and adopting in place of it, as my own, without qualification or reserve, the manly and outspoken protest that I have just now read for you. "Intrinsically dangerous to the fairness of the examinations," and "it must be changed in the interests of justice and fair play," and "the sooner it is got rid of, the better for all parties concerned"—these expressions are quite strong enough for me.

At all events, we know that in the only remedy. Dr. Healy the Senate has a representative, sturdy and uncompromising, of the principle of opposition to this system against which I protested twelve years ago by withdrawing from that body. Yet that mischievous, and, as I regard it, indefensible system, holds possession of the field to the present day. "Makeshift," or whatever else we may choose to call it, in my opinion it will continue to hold possession of the field until justice is done to the Catholics of Ireland by the establishment of a sound system of University education,¹ based upon the principle of equality between us

¹ See pages 5-16.

and all our fellow-countrymen. If any further arguments were needed at the present day to urge forward our claim to such a settlement of this long unsettled question, it would be that one immediate result of that settlement would be the abolition of this anomalous examination system that has held its ground in the Royal University from the beginning until now.

Now, before I close, I must not omit to
Blackrock and Galway:
a contrast. add that, as those gentlemen from Galway think that their position in the University records, as compared with that of our Catholic University Medical School, is to be accounted for by their not having a sufficiently numerous representation on the University Examining Board, I should wish to know what they have to say on the contrast disclosed by those same records, between their position and that of your University College of Blackrock. I have already given you the figures. But they are worth repeating. Here is how they stand¹:—Galway, 160 Honours ; Blackrock, 192. Then, Galway, 54 Exhibitions ; Blackrock, 69. Again, Blackrock, 57 First-class Honours ; Galway, only 38. Finally, Blackrock, 21 First-class Exhibitions ; Galway, only 15.

These are the figures that I should wish to hear them explain. As for the constitution of the Examining Boards, as between them and you, it is not a question of less or more. So far as that point goes, they have everything, you have nothing at all. As for endowment, it is sufficient to say that they have £10,000 a year, and you have not a single penny. But you have had what they have not had, and never can have,—the infectious enthusiasm and inspiring presence, and that which is now perpetuated amongst you by this bust, the inspiring memory, of that great teacher, Father Reffé.

¹ See page 470.



XL.

THE WORK OF THE QUEEN'S COLLEGES
AND OF CATHOLIC COLLEGES TESTED
BY THE ROYAL UNIVERSITY EXAMINA-
TIONS.

(1884-1896.)

THE WORK OF THE QUEEN'S COLLEGES AND OF CATHOLIC COLLEGES TESTED BY THE ROYAL UNIVERSITY EXAMINA- TIONS.

(1884-1896.)

[In several sections of this volume, tabular statements are set forth showing, by contrast with the corresponding results in the case of the Queen's Colleges, the marked success of the work done in the Faculty of Arts by the two leading Colleges of the Catholic University, and in the Faculty of Medicine by the Catholic University Medical School, as tested by the Examinations of the Royal University. In the following pages, these statements are completed down to date, and some further statements of important results are added.

In all cases, the lines on which the statements of the earlier results (see pages 101, 107, 108, 167, and 437, 438) are made out have been adhered to.]

TABLE I.

ROYAL UNIVERSITY HONOURS AND EXHIBITIONS.

Number of Honours and of Exhibitions gained by Students of the Catholic University Colleges of Stephen's-green, Dublin, and Blackrock, and by Students of the Queen's Colleges of Cork and Galway, at the Examinations of the Royal University in the Faculty of Arts, up to, and including, the Examination for the B.A. Degree, in the twelve years from 1884-5 to 1895-6, inclusive.

COLLEGES	Honours.	Exhibitions.	Total, Honours and Exhibitions.
CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY COLLEGES :—			
Stephen's-green, Dublin	500	165	665
Blackrock	192	69	261
Total, two Cath. Univ. Colleges...	692	234	926
QUEENS' COLLEGES :—			
Cork	124	44	168
Galway	160	54	214
Total, two Queen's Colleges ...	284	98	382

From the above Table it will be seen :—

(1) That, both as regards Honours and as regards Exhibitions, the successes of University College, Blackrock, considerably outnumber those of either of the Queen's Colleges of Cork or Galway ; and,

(2) That, in both respects, the successes of University College, Dublin, still more largely outnumber the combined successes of those two Queen's Colleges.

TABLE II.

ROYAL UNIVERSITY FIRST-CLASS HONOURS, AND FIRST-CLASS EXHIBITIONS.

Number of First-class Honours and of First-class Exhibitions gained by Students of the Catholic University Colleges of Stephen's-green, Dublin, and Blackrock, and by Students of the Queen's Colleges of Cork and Galway, at the Examinations of the Royal University in the Faculty of Arts, up to, and including, the Examination for the B.A. Degree, in the twelve years from 1884-5 to 1895-6 inclusive.

COLLEGES	First-class Honours.	First-class Exhibitions	Total, First-class Honours and First-class Exhibitions
CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY COLLEGES :—			
Stephen's-green, Dublin	170	76	246
Blackrock	57	21	78
Total, two Cath. Univ. Colleges...	227	97	324
QUEEN'S COLLEGES ;—			
Cork	33	11	44
Galway	38	15	53
Total, two Queen's Colleges ...	71	26	97

From the above Table, dealing with the highest range of distinctions at these Examinations—First-class Honours and First-class Exhibitions,—it will be seen :—

(1) That the two points noticed in connection with the Table on the opposite page hold good also here ; and,

(2) That, in this Table of higher distinctions the preponderance of success in the case of the Catholic Colleges¹ is even more striking than in the former instance

¹ See page 98.

TABLE III.

ROYAL UNIVERSITY B.A. DEGREES.

Number of Students of the Catholic University Colleges of Stephen's-green, Dublin, and Blackrock, and of Students of the Queen's Colleges of Cork and Galway, who obtained the Degree of B.A. at the Examinations of the Royal University in the twelve years from 1884-5 to 1895-6 inclusive.

COLLEGES	Number of Students who obtained the Degree of B.A.
CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY COLLEGES:—	
Stephen's-green, Dublin	155
Blackrock	40
Total, two Catholic University Colleges ..	195
QUEEN'S COLLEGES:—	
Cork	66
Galway	88
Total, two Queen's Colleges	154

This Table, like the preceding ones, gives evidence of the striking success of our Catholic Colleges in connection with the work of the Royal University. But, for several reasons, it fails to bring out the full extent of that success.

In the first place, it happens not unfrequently in our unendowed Colleges that students who have passed with distinction the examinations at the end of the first and second years of the undergraduate course, are unable to remain for the rest of that course, owing to the absence of any such aids to students as are afforded by College Scholarships in Colleges that are endowed. The extent of the aid thus given to the students of the three Queen's Colleges may be seen on the opposite page.

Moreover, in this third Table, a mere pass-man counts for as much as a student who has taken out his Degree

with the highest Honours. Consequently, as the number of distinctions, in proportion to the number of pass notably greater in the case of the Colleges of Stephen's-green and Blackrock, than in the case of the Queen's Colleges of Cork and Galway,¹ this Table falls short of bringing out the full significance of the results.

Nevertheless, it amply attests, like the two preceding Tables, the preponderance of success at the Catholic side.

The following is a statement of the Scholarships maintained out of the Parliamentary grant in each of the three Queen's Colleges:—

	Number of Scholarships	Value of each Scholarship	Total value
QUEEN'S COLLEGE, BELFAST.			
Junior Scholarships:—		£	£
Faculty of Arts ..	30	24	720
„ Medicine ..	8	25	200
„ Law ..	3	20	60
School of Engineering ..	5	20	100
Senior Scholarships ..	8	40	320
QUEEN'S COLLEGE, CORK.			
Junior Scholarships:—			
Faculty of Arts ..	30	24	720
„ Medicine ..	8	25	200
„ Law ..	3	20	60
School of Engineering ..	5	20	100
Senior Scholarships ..	8	40	320
QUEEN'S COLLEGE, GALWAY.			
Junior Scholarships:—			
Faculty of Arts ..	30	24	720
„ Medicine ..	8	25	200
„ Law ..	3	20	60
School of Engineering ..	5	20	100
Senior Scholarships ..	8	40	320
TOTALS ..	162	—	£4,200

¹ See page 98.

TABLE IV.

ROYAL UNIVERSITY HONOURS AND EXHIBITIONS AT THE
EXAMINATIONS FOR THE B.A. DEGREE.

Number of Students of the Catholic University Colleges of Stephen's-green, Dublin, and Blackrock, and of Students of the two Queen's Colleges of Cork and Galway, who obtained Honours and Exhibitions at the Examinations of the Royal University for the B.A. Degree, in the twelve years from 1884-5 to 1895-6 inclusive.

COLLEGES	HONOURS			EXHIBITIONS			Total Hons. and Exhibi- tions.
	First- class	Second- class	Total	First- class	Second- class	Total	
CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY COLLEGES :—							
Stephen's-gn., Dublin ..	24	55	79	22	24	46	125
Blackrock ..	5	19	24	2	11	13	37
Total, two Cath. Univ. Colleges ..	29	74	103	24	35	59	162
QUEEN'S COLLEGES :—							
Cork ..	8	16	24	5	11	16	40
Galway ..	10	29	39	4	17	21	60
Total, two Queen's Colleges ..	18	45	63	9	28	37	100

The observations made in reference to Table III. are illustrated by the figures of Table IV. By comparing these figures with those of the preceding Table, it will be seen how much larger a proportion of the passes represent distinguished successes in the case of the two Catholic Colleges¹ than in the case of their State-favoured competitors.

¹ See page 98.

To facilitate the comparison, I add the following Table. It gives, for the four Colleges, the percentages of Honours and Exhibitions gained, upon the total number of Students who obtained the degree of B.A. from each College :—

TABLE V.

PERCENTAGES OF HONOURS AND EXHIBITIONS AT THE
ROYAL UNIVERSITY EXAMINATIONS FOR THE
B.A. DEGREE.

Percentages of Honours and Exhibitions obtained at the Examinations of the Royal University for the B.A. Degree by Students of the Catholic University Colleges of Stephen's-green, Dublin, and Blackrock, and by Students of the two Queen's Colleges of Cork and Galway, on the total number of Students from each College who obtained the Degree at those Examinations from 1884-5 to 1895-6 inclusive.

COLLEGES	PERCENTAGE, ON NUMBER OF PASSES, OF						
	First-class Hons.	Second-class Hons.	Total Hons.	First-class Exhibitions	Second-class Exhibitions.	Total Exhibitions	Total Hons. and Exhibitions
CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY COLLEGES :—							
Stephen's-gn., Dublin	15.5	35.5	51.0	14.2	15.5	29.7	80.7
Blackrock	12.5	47.5	60.0	5.0	27.5	32.5	92.5
Percentage for two Cath. Univ. Colls.	14.9	37.9	52.8	12.3	18.0	30.3	83.1
QUEEN'S COLLEGES :—							
Cork	12.1	24.2	36.3	7.6	16.7	24.3	60.6
Galway	11.4	32.9	44.3	4.5	19.3	23.9	68.2
Percentage for two Queen's Colleges	11.7	29.2	40.9	5.8	18.2	24.0	64.9

The two following Tables show that even Queen's College, Belfast, the one really successful Queen's College, no longer holds the first place amongst the Colleges whose students are examined at the Royal University.

TABLE VI.

ROYAL UNIVERSITY HONOURS AND EXHIBITIONS.

Number of Honours and Exhibitions gained by Students of University College, Stephen's-green, Dublin, and by Students of Queen's College, Belfast, at the Examinations of the Royal University in the Faculty of Arts, up to, and including, the Examination for the B.A. Degree, in the last three years, 1893-4, 1894-5, and 1895-6.

COLLEGES	Honours	Exhibitions	Total, Honours and Exhibitions
University Coll., Stephen's-gn., Dublin	176	238	414
Queen's College, Belfast	145	201	346

TABLE VII.

ROYAL UNIVERSITY FIRST-CLASS HONOURS AND FIRST-CLASS EXHIBITIONS.

Number of First-class Honours and First-class Exhibitions gained by Students of University College, Stephen's-green, Dublin, and by Students of Queen's College, Belfast, at the Examinations of the Royal University in the Faculty of Arts, up to, and including, the Examination for the B.A. Degree in the last three years, 1893-4, 1894-5, and 1895-6.

COLLEGES	First-class Honours	First-class Exhibitions	Total First-class Honours and First-class Exhibitions
University Coll., Stephen's-gn., Dublin	79	36	115
Queen's College, Belfast	48	20	68

The following Table has reference to the Medical Faculty only. It brings down to date the results tabulated, first for the period ending in 1889, and then for the period ending in 1891, on previous pages of this volume.¹

TABLE VIII.

ROYAL UNIVERSITY FIRST-CLASS HONOURS AND FIRST-CLASS EXHIBITIONS IN THE FACULTY OF MEDICINE.

Number of First-class Honours and First-class Exhibitions gained by Students of the Catholic University Medical School and University College, Dublin, and by Students of the three Queen's Colleges, at the First Medical, Second Medical, Third Medical, and M.B. Examinations of the Royal University, in the twelve years from 1884-5 to 1895-6 inclusive.

COLLEGES	First-class Honours	First-class Exhibitions	Total First-class Honours and First-class Exhibitions
Catholic University School of Medicine, and University College, Dublin	43	23	71
Queen's College, Belfast	34	19	53
Queen's College, Cork	16	8	24
Queen's College, Galway	6	2	8

¹ See pages 175 and 274.

XLI.

DECLARATION OF THE CATHOLIC LAITY
OF IRELAND ON THE SUBJECT OF
UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.

(1896.)

DECLARATION OF THE CATHOLIC LAITY OF IRELAND ON THE SUBJECT OF UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.

(1896.)

[In January, 1896, at a meeting of a number of representative Catholic laymen in the Rector's rooms of the Catholic University, Stephen's-green, Dublin, it was decided to re-issue for signature the Declaration which had been presented in 1870, on behalf of the Catholic laity of Ireland, to Mr. Gladstone, as Prime Minister.¹

In the course of the year, the Declaration was signed by the Catholic Peers, Privy Councillors, Members of Parliament, Deputy Lieutenants, Justices of the Peace, members of the medical and legal professions, and other representative Catholics whose names are given in the following pages.

As it was a declaration on behalf of the Catholic laity, it could be signed only by Catholics. But, in view of their representative position, a number of the Irish Protestant Members of Parliament expressed their concurrence in the claim embodied in the Declaration. Their expression of concurrence, with their signatures appended, is given at the end of the list.

Towards the end of December, 1896, the Declaration was forwarded to the Prime Minister, the First Lord of the Treasury, the Lord Lieutenant and the Chief Secretary for Ireland.]

DECLARATION.

Having observed the recent statement of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, that it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to deal with the question of Irish University Education,¹ we, the undersigned, take the opportunity to renew the following Declaration made in the year 1870 on behalf of the Catholic laity of Ireland :—

- "1. That it is the constitutional right of all British subjects to
"adopt whatever system of Collegiate or University
"Education they prefer.
- "2. That perfect religious equality involves equality in all
"educational advantages afforded by the State.
- "3. That a large number of Irishmen are at present precluded
"from the enjoyment of University Education, honours,
"and emoluments, on account of conscientious religious
"opinions regarding the existing systems of education.
- "4. That we therefore demand such a change in the system of
"Collegiate and University Education as will place those
"who entertain these conscientious objections on a footing
"of equality with the rest of their fellow-countrymen as
"regards Colleges, University honours and emoluments,
"University examination, government, and representation."

The Declaration has been signed by the following:—

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF WESTMEATH.
 THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DENBIGH AND DESMOND.
 THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF GRANARD.
 THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF KENMARE, K.P., H.M.L.
 VISCOUNT GORMANSTOWN, G.C.M.G.
 VISCOUNT SOUTHWELL.
 VISCOUNT CASTLEROSSE.
 LORD TRIMLESTON.
 LORD LOUTH.
 LORD BELLEW.
 LORD DE FREYNE.
 LORD EMLY.
 THE RIGHT HON. SIR PETER O'BRIEN, BART.,
 LORD CHIEF JUSTICE OF IRELAND.
 THE RIGHT HON. THE LORD CHIEF BARON.
 THE RIGHT HON. LORD JUSTICE BARRY.
 THE RIGHT HON. THE O'CONOR DON. H.M.L.
 THE RIGHT HON. J. M. MEADE, LL.D.
 THE RIGHT HON. THE LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN.

¹ See page 413.

Ambrose, R., M.P.
 Austin, Michael, M.P.
 Barry, Edward, M.P.
 Carew, J. L., M.P.
 Clancy, J. J., M.P.
 Collery, Bernard, M.P.
 Commins, A., M.A., LL.D., M.P.
 Condon, Thomas P., M.P.
 Crean, Eugene, M.P.
 Crilly, Daniel, M.P.
 Curran, Thomas, M.P.
 Daly, James, M.P.
 Davitt, Michael, M.P.
 Dillon, John, M.P.
 Doogan, P. C., M.P.
 Engledow, C. J., M.P., J.P.
 Esmonde, Sir T., Bart., M.P.
 Farrell, J. P., M.P.
 Farrell, T. J., M.P.
 Field, William, M.P.
 Finucane, John, M.P., J.P.
 Flavin, Michael J., M.P.
 French, P., M.P.
 Gibney, James, M.P.
 Gilhooly, J., M.P.
 Hammond, J., M.P.
 Harrington, T., M.P.
 Healy, Maurice, M.P.
 Healy, T. J., M.P.
 Healy, T. M., M.P.

Adams, William, J.P.
 Abye-Curran, F. G. (Dub.),
 F.R.C.S.I.
 Ahern, Timothy, J.P.
 Aird, J. J., J.P.
 Alcorn, James G., J.P., B.L.
 Aungier, Robert, J.P.
 Auterson, Francis, M.D., J.P.
 Baker, Richard E., J.P.
 Balfe, Major Michael J., J.P., D.L.
 Barnwall, Sir Reginald, Bart
 Barron, Sir Henry, Bart.
 Barry, Chas. M., Solicitor.
 Barry, Henry H., Solicitor.
 Barry, Charles Standish, J.P.
 Barry, James G., J.P.
 Barry, J. M'C., J.P.
 Barry, John E.
 Barry, John E., J.P.
 Barry, John Harold, J.P., D.L.
 Barry, Michael, J.P.
 Barry, P. J., L.R.C.S.I., L.R.C.P.I.,
 M.R.I.A.
 Barry, Robert, M.D., F.R.C.S.I.
 Baylor, Robert S., Solicitor.

Hogan, J. F., M.P.
 Kilbride, Denis, M.P.
 Mandeville, F., M.P.
 M'Aleese, D., M.P.
 M'Cartan, Michael, M.P.
 M'Carthy, Justin, M.P.
 M'Dermott, P., M.P.
 M'Hugh, Edward, M.P.
 M'Hugh, Patrick A., M.P.
 Minch, M. J., M.P.
 Morris, Samuel, J.P., M.P.
 O'Brien, J. F. X., M.P.
 O'Brien, Patrick, M.P.
 O'Brien, Patrick J., M.P.
 O'Connor, Arthur, M.P.
 O'Connor, James, M.P.
 O'Keeffe, F.A., M.P.
 O'Kelly, James, M.P.]
 O'Malley, W., M.P.
 Power, P. J., M.P.
 Redmond, John E., M.P.
 Redmond, Wm. K., M.P.
 Roche, John, M.P.
 Shee, James J., M.P.
 Sheehy, David, M.P.
 Sullivan, Donald, M.P.
 Sullivan, T. D., M.P.
 Tully, Jasper, M.P.
 Tuite, James, M.P.

Beytagh, Edward A., Solicitor
 Bellew, Sir Henry Grattan, Bart.,
 Bellew, The Hon. Richard
 Bellingham, Sir Henry, Bart.,
 J.P., D.L.
 Bergin, Michael, J.P.
 Betagh, Michael, J.P.
 Bidwell, Col. P. S., J.P.
 Birmingham, A., M.D., F.R.U.I
 Birmingham, C. L., M.B., B.CH.
 (Irl.)
 Blacker, Edward, J.P.
 Blackhall, Henry, Solicitor.
 Blake, Charles J., J.P.
 Blake, Col. Maurice G., J.P., D.L.
 Blake, Valentine J., J.P.
 Blake, Lieut.-Col. Llwellyn, J.P.,
 D.L.
 Blayney, Alex., M.A., M.B., B.CH.
 (Ireland)
 Blaquiére, Thomas, J.P.
 Bodkin, M., M'D., Q.C.
 Boland, Thomas, J.P.
 Bolger, Thaddeus, J.P.
 Bourke, Geoffrey, J.P., L.R.C.S.I.

- Bourke, Geoffrey T. J., J.P.
 Bourke, P. E., J.P., T.C.
 Bourke, Surgeon-Major James.
 Bourke, John Walter, Solicitor.
 Bowen, P., J.P.
 Boyce, Jerome, J.P.
 Boyd, Joseph, F.R.C.S.I.
 Boyd, Michael A., M.D., F.R.C.S.I.,
 L.K.Q.C.P.I.
 Boylan, Charles, J.P.
 Boylan, Daniel
 Boyle, Edward, J.P.
 Brady, Patrick J., Solicitor.
 Bradley, Neal, J.P.
 Brannan, Fras., M.B., B.CH. (Irl.)
 Breen, Thos., L.R.C.S.I., &c.,
 Inspector General Royal Navy.
 Brennan, Patrick, J.P.
 Britton, William, J.P.
 Broderick, John P., Solicitor.
 Brolly, James, J.P.
 Brown, Paul A., Solicitor.
 Browne, Wm. F., LL.D., Solicitor.
 Browne, D. F., B.A., B.L.
 Browne, James J. F., C.E.
 Bryan, The Hon. George, J.P.,
 D.L.
 Buckley, William, Solicitor.
 Buckley, C., J.P.
 Buggy, Michael, Solicitor.
 Burke, G., J.P.
 Burke, James Milo, J.P., D.L.
 Burke, Sir Henry Bart., J.P., D.L.
 Burns, Edward, J.P.
 Butler, John, J.P.
 Butler, Richard, J.P.
 Butler, Thomas, J.P., D.L.
 Byrne, James, J.P.
 Byrne, John Tyrrell, J.P.
 Byrne, Wm. M., Solicitor.
 Byrne, Louis A., F.R.C.S.I.
 Cahill, John N., Colonel, J.P.
 Cahill, Mark, L.R.C.P., L.R.C.S.
 (Edin.)
 Cahill, Philip, J.P.
 Callanan, M., L.R.C.P., L.R.C.S.I.
 Callaghan, T. J., J.P.
 Callow, R. T., J.P.
 Campbell, J. H., J.P.
 Campbell, James A. M., Solicitor.
 Campbell, John M.B. (Dub.), M.D.,
 F.R.U.I.
 Campbell, F. H., Solicitor.
 Campion, Thomas H., J.P.
 Canning, Patrick, M.A.
 Cantwell, Edward
 Canty, T. J., J.P.
 Caraher, Edward, Sessional Crown
 Solicitor.
 Carbery, Joseph A. L., J.P.
 Carbery, James S., J.P.
 Carbery, Wm., B.L.
 Carey, Richard, J.P.
 Carr, Colonel N. E., J.P.
 Carroll, Anthony R., Solicitor.
 Carroll, Redmond F., B.L.
 Carroll, Thomas
 Carroll, Anthony, Solicitor.
 Carrigan, William, Solicitor.
 Carton, R. P., Q.C.
 Chadwick, John, J.P.
 Chevers, Colonel George, J.P.
 Chichester, Constable Major
 Raleigh, J.P.
 Clanchy, Thomas J., J.P.
 Clancy, Timothy J., J.P.
 Clancy, David J., Solicitor.
 Clark, John, Solicitor.
 Clarke, John P., J.P., L.R.C.S.I.
 Clarke, William.
 Cleary, John Joseph, J.P.
 Cleary, Michael R., F.R.C.S.I.,
 J.P.
 Clerkin, Bernard, J.P.
 Clune, John, J.P.
 Codd, Eugene F., J.P.
 Codd, Patrick, J.P.
 Coffee, Francis, C.E., J.P.
 Coffee, James, J.P.
 Coffey, Denis J., B.A., M.B., B.CH.,
 F.R.U.I.
 Coffey, William, J.P.
 Cogan, Myles R., J.P.
 Cogan, William, J.P.
 Coghlan, William C., J.P.
 Colgan, Francis, J.P.
 Coleman, James B., M.B., M.CH.
 (Irl.), F.R.U.I.
 Collins, Eugene F., Solicitor.
 Collins, George, Solicitor.
 Colthurst, Colonel D
 Comyn, William, J.P.
 Comyn, William
 Condon, James D., M.D., J.P.
 Condon, John, Solicitor.
 Conlan, Edward, J.P.
 Conlon, Thos. P., L.R.C.P.,
 L.R.C.S.I.
 Connolly, Francis, J.P.
 Connolly, James, J.P.
 Connolly, John, J.P.
 Connolly, John, J.P.

Connolly, Joseph P., Solicitor.
 Connolly, Wm., M.D., Dept.
 Inspector-General Royal Navy.
 Conolly, Patrick, J.P.
 Conway, P. J., J.P.
 Cooney, Mark
 Copeland, Henry C., J.P.
 Coppinger, Chas., M.D., F.R.C.S.I.
 Coppinger, Thos. Stephen, J.P.
 Coppinger, Valentine J., B.A., B.L.
 Coppinger, Walter V., B.A.
 Corballis, R. J., M.A., J.P.
 Corbett, William E., C.E., M.R.I.A.I.
 Corcoran, Charles, Solicitor.
 Corcoran, Charles E., Solicitor.
 Corcoran, Thomas, J.P.
 Corkerry, D. O'Brien, J.P.
 Corr, James, J.P.
 Cosgreave, John, Solicitor, C.T.C.
 Costello, J., J.P.
 Costello, John, J.P.
 Costelloe, Joseph
 Counihan, W. E., Solicitor.
 Courtney, William, M.D., J.P.
 Cowley, John D., J.P.
 Cox, M. F., M.D., F.R.C.P.I.
 Coyle, Michael, Solicitor.
 Coyle, Neal, J.P.
 Cranny, John J., M.D., F.R.C.S.I.
 Cranny, Luke, J.P.
 Creagh-Harnett, William L., J.P.
 Creagh, Pierse, J.P.
 Creagh, P. W., J.P.
 Crean, C. E., J.P., L.R.C.P.,
 L.R.C.S.I.
 Crean, Richard J., Solicitor.
 Cregan, Thomas M'Mahon, J.P.
 Crilly, Thomas, J.P.
 Crinion, John T., L.R.C.P., L.R.C.S.I.
 Croker, John T., Solicitor.
 Cronin, Richard, L.R.C.P., L.R.C.S.I.
 Crosbie, Thomas
 Crowe, Patrick, J.P.
 Crowley, John, Solicitor.
 Crudden, John, J.P.
 Cruice, R. R., J.P.
 Cruise, Sir Francis, M.D. (Dublin),
 F.K.Q.C.P.I.
 Crumley, P., J.P.
 Cullen, Simon, J.P.
 Cullin, John
 Cullinan, B., J.P.
 Cullinan, John F., Sessional Crown
 Solicitor.
 Cummins, Edmund, J.P.
 Curry, Colonel Michael, J.P.

Curry, Major Peter, J.P.
 Cusack, R., L.R.C.S.I., &c.
 Cussen, Richard, J.P.
 Cutler, P., M.R.C.P., L.R.C.S.I.
 Dalton, J. H., J.P.
 Dalton, James H., J.P.
 Daly, Col. John A., J.P., D.L.
 Daly, J., J.P.
 Daly, John R., J.P.
 Daly, Maurice, D., J.P.
 Daly, Thomas, J.P.
 Daly, Thos., J., L.R.C.P., L.R.C.S.I.
 Daly, William, J.P.
 Daly, Patrick, junr., Solicitor.
 Daly, Patrick, J. B., Solicitor.
 Daly, Thomas J., L.R.C.S.I.,
 L.R.C.P.I.
 Darby, M., M.D., J.P.
 Dargan, Wm., B.A., M.B., B.CH.
 D'Arcy, James F. H., J.P., D.L.
 Dairy, P. T., J.P.
 Davoren, Richard, Solicitor.
 Davys, James E.
 Dawson, Charles
 Dease, Colonel G. R., J.P.
 Dease, Edmund F., J.P.
 Dease, Edmund G., J.P., D.L.
 Dease, Gerald, J.P., D.L.
 De Courcy, Maurice, J.P.
 De Courcy, William, J.P.
 Deeney, James, J.P.
 De Lacy, Claud, J.P.
 De la Hoyde, O'C. J., M.R.C.P.,
 L.R.C.S.I.
 De la Hunt, James, L.R.C.S. & P.
 Delahunt, S., J.P.
 Delany, John, J.P.
 Delany, William, J.P.
 De la Poer, Edmund, Count, J.P.,
 D.L.
 Dempsey, Bernard, J.P.
 Dempsey, Charles J., J.P.
 Dempsey, Michael John
 Dempsey, Martin, B.A., M.D.
 Dempsey, P. J., L.R.C.P., L.R.C.S.I.
 Dennehy, Major-General, J.P.
 Dennehy, Michael, J.P.
 Dennehy, Laurence J., B.A., Sol.
 Denvir, John, J.P.
 De Vere, Aubrey
 Devereux, Andrew, Solicitor.
 Devine, George, J.P.
 Devlin, Henry, J.P.
 Devlin, Stewart, J.P.
 Dignan, Thomas, J.P.
 Dillon, Paul R., L.R.C.P., L.R.C.S.I.

- Dillon, John B., J.P.
 Dillon, V. B., Solicitor.
 Dillon, Valentine Plunket, M.D., J.P.
 Dodd, John, J.P.
 Dodd, Wm. H., J.P., L.R.C.S.I.
 Doherty, Alexander, J.P.
 Doherty, George, J.P.
 Doherty, John, Solicitor.
 Dolphin, Peter Herbert, J.P.
 Donaghy, Joseph Ignatius, B.A., Solicitor.
 Donaldson, Col. Richard, J.P., D.L.
 Donelan, J. O'Connor, L.R.C.P., L.R.C.S.I.
 Donelan, S. J. R., J.P.
 Donnelly, Cornelius, J.P.
 Donnelly, John C., J.P.
 Donnelly, Thomas, M.B., B.S. (Dub.)
 Donohoe, Edward, J.P.
 Donohoe, James, J.P.
 Donovan, St. J. H., J.P.
 Donovan, Thomas, J.P.
 Donovan, Robert, B.A.
 Doohan, Matthew, J.P.
 Doolin, Walter, C.E.
 Doran, Henry, J.P.
 Dorgan, Wm., LL.B., Solicitor.
 Dowley, Edward, J.P.
 Dowling, Stephen F., J.P.
 Downes, Thomas, Solicitor.
 Doyle, C. F., M.A., B.L., F.R.U.I.
 Doyle, Daniel S., LL.B., Solicitor.
 Doyle, J. A., Solicitor.
 Doyle, James, J.P.
 Doyle, J. Malone, J.P.
 Doyle, Patrick, J.P.
 Doyle, Thomas B., J.P.
 Doyle, Wm., F.R.C.S.I., Surgeon-Major, S.M.D.
 Doyle, William, J.P.
 Drenan, Denis, J.P.
 Drummond, M., M.A., Q.C.
 Dudley, J. J., Solicitor
 Duffy, Sir Charles Gavan, K.C.M.G.
 Duignan, John J., L.R.C.S.I.
 Duignan, Thomas, J.P.
 Dundon, John, Solicitor.
 Dunford, Daniel, Solicitor.
 Dunlea, James, Solicitor.
 Dunlea, William, J.P.
 Dunn, James Valentine, Solicitor.
 Dunn, Michael J., B.A., B.L.
 Dunne, J. Harvey, J.P.
 Dunne, Michael W., Solicitor.
 Dunne, William, J.P.
 Dwyer, Conway, B.A., M.D.
 Dwyer, James, J.P.
 Dwyer, John, J.P.
 Egan, Edward D., J.P.
 Ellard, John, Clerk Crown and Peace.
 Ennis, Edward A., B.A., B.L.
 Ennis, Michael A., J.P.
 Errington, Sir George, Bart., J.P.
 Fagan, John, F.R.C.S., J.P.
 Fagan, P. J., F.R.C.S.I.
 Falvey, F. J., L.R.C.P., L.R.C.S.I.
 Fanning, Sir Rowland, J.P.
 Farrell, Edward Francis, J.P.
 Farrell, Francis A.
 Farrell, J. A., J.P., D.L.
 Farrell, Sir Thomas, P.R.H.A.
 Farrell, Thomas V., J.P.
 Faulkner, James, J.P., T.C.
 Fay, J. H., J.P.
 Feely, Edward M., B.L.
 Fennelly, Martin, L.R.C.P.I., J.P.
 Ferris, Robert, J.P., T.C.
 Finnegan, J. P., L.K.Q.C.P.I.
 Fitzgerald, Edward, B.A., J.P., Solicitor
 Fitzgerald, Edward, J.P.
 Fitzgerald, Francis, J.P.
 Fitzgerald, J. J., M.B., B.CH.
 Fitzgerald, Gerald, J.P.
 Fitzgerald, Nicholas, J.P.
 Fitzgerald, Patrick, F.R.C.S., J.P.
 Fitzgerald, William J., Clerk of the Crown and Peace, co. Cork.
 Fitzgibbon, Patrick R., Solicitor.
 FitzSimon, Christopher O'Connell, Solicitor.
 Fitzsimons, Laurence, J.P.
 Flanagan, Matthew, J.P.
 Flannery, James G., J.P.
 Fleming, Patrick D., M.A., B.L.
 Foley, Edward N., J.P.
 Foley, T., J.P.
 Forde, William, jun., Solicitor.
 Frengley, J. P., M.B., B.CH.
 French, John, J.P.
 Friery, Christopher, Solicitor and Coroner.
 Frewin, William, Solicitor.
 Frost, James, J.P., M.R.I.A.
 Frost, Solomon, J.P.
 Furlong, Nicholas, J.P., M.D.
 Gallagher, J.W., L.R.C.P., L.R.C.S.I., J.P.
 Gaffney, James S., B.A., T.C., Solicitor

Gaffney, Joseph, High Sheriff of Limerick.
 Gaffney, Thomas, Alderman, J.P.
 Galavan, James E., J.P.
 Gallagher, Edward, J.P.
 Gallagher, Hugh, J.P.
 Gallagher, J. W., F.R.C.S.I., J.P.
 Gallagher, Thomas M., L.R.C.P.I., J.P.
 Gallagher, William, J.P.
 Gallagher, William, Solicitor.
 Gallen, Charles, J.P.
 Galvin, Barry C., Solicitor.
 Gallwey, William, J.P.
 Gannon, John, J.P.
 Garde, Thomas, J.P.
 Garland, Edward V., Solicitor.
 Garland, Richard, J.P.
 Garland, William E., B.A., Solicitor
 Gartlan, Alexander, Solicitor.
 Gartlan, George H., A.B., B.L.
 Geraghty, James, J.P.
 Gernon, W., M.A.
 Gibney, J. J., M.A., F.R.U.I.
 Gilfoyle, A. T., J.P.
 Gill, Michael, B.A.
 Gill, H. M., J.P.
 Gilleece, James, J.P.
 Gilmartin, Laurence, J.P.
 Ginnell, Laurence, B.L.
 Gleeson, Joseph, Solicitor.
 Gleeson, Michael, Crown Solicitor.
 Gleeson, R. X. M., Solicitor.
 Goff, James, Solicitor, v.p. Incorporated Law Society
 Golden, J., J.P.
 Golding, John, J.P.
 Golding, Patrick S., Solicitor.
 Gowan, Francis, J.P.
 Gowing, Francis, J.P.
 Grace, Sir Percy Raymond, Bart., J.P., D.L.
 Graham, Jason, J.P.
 Graham, Patrick F., M.D.
 Greene, George E. J., M.A., M.D., J.P.
 Greene, Roger, Solicitor.
 Grehan, Stephen, J.P., D.L.
 Grew, James, J.P.
 Griffin, Thomas, R.C.P. & S., J.P.
 Guinane, John, J.P.
 Haggerty, Thomas, J.P.
 Hall, Ambrose, J.P.
 Hall, James P., Solicitor.
 Hallinan, Edward, J.P.
 Hanna, Robert, J.P.
 Hannigan, B., J.P.

Hannigan, E. O. L., J.P.
 Hannigan, J. P., J.P.
 Hannigan, Louis, J.P.
 Hannigan, P. Q., J.P.
 Hanrahan, John A., Solicitor.
 Hanrahan, John J., LL.D., Solicitor]
 Haran, J. A., M.B., B.CH., B.A. (Dub.)
 Harding, E., J.P.
 Harding, J. J., J.P.
 Harold, C. J., J.P., C.P.L.G.
 Harold, J. O., J.P.
 Harpur, Thomas, J.P.
 Harrington, John, J.P.
 Harrington, Stanley, J.P.
 Harris, George W., J.P.
 Hartigan, Jeremiah T., L.R.C.S.I., L.K.Q.C.P.I.]
 Hassett, John, J.P.
 Hastings, Stephen, Solicitor.
 Hayes, J. J., Bouchier, M.B., B.CH. (Dub.)
 Hayes, Patrick, M.D., F.R.C.S.E. F.R.U.I.
 Hayes, T., M.D. J.P.
 Healy, J., J.P.
 Healy, W., J.P.
 Hearn, John S., J.P.
 Hearne, William, J.P.
 Heffernan, John, J.P.
 Heffernan, William K., L.R.C.S.I.
 Hickie, Lieut.-Col. James F., J.P.
 Hodgins, H., J.P.
 Hodnett, William, Solicitor.
 Hogan, E. V., J.P.
 Holmes, John, F.R.C.S.I.
 Horan, Michael Lane, Solicitor.
 Horgan, Bartholomew O'Connor Solicitor.
 Horgan, Michael J., Solicitor and Coroner.
 Horne, Andrew, F.R.C.P.I., V.P.R.C.P.I.
 Hosey, John, J.P.
 Howard, Jeremiah, J.P.
 Howard, John, J.P.
 Hoy, John, Solicitor.
 Hughes, Denis D., J.P.
 Hughes, Patrick, J.P.
 Humphreys, David, L.R.C.P., L.R.C.S.I.
 Hutchinson, James, J.P.
 Irwin, Lieut.-Col. R., J.P.
 Jennings, J., J.P.
 Jones, Thomas, J.P.
 Jones, William, J.P.
 Jordan, James, J.P.

- Jordan, Myles C. D., M.D., J.P.
 Jordan, Philip, J.P.
 Joyce, Garrett, L.R.C.P., L.R.C.P.I.
 Joyce, John A., J.P.
 Joyce, P. King, B.A., M.B., B.CH.,
 L.R.C.P., L.R.C.S.I.
 Joyce, P. W., LL.D.
 Judge, Michael J., J.P.
 Julian, Arthur H., Solicitor.
 Kane, Patrick, Solicitor.
 Kane, William T., L.R.C.P. & S.,
 J.P.
 Kavanagh, Denis W.
 Keary, P. R., M.B., B.CH., J.P.
 Keenan, Patrick, J.P.
 Kehoe, Daniel, B.A., B.L.
 Kehoe, Miles, Q.C.
 Kelleher, C., J.P.
 Kelliher, Maurice, J.P.
 Keller, N. W., Solicitor.
 Kelly, C. Russell
 Kelly, Fitzjames, J.P.
 Kelly, James, J.P.
 Keogh, John, J.P., L.R.C.S. & P.
 Kelly, John, J.P.
 Kelly, John, J.P.
 Kelly, John James, J.P.
 Kelly, John J. Roche, J.P., D.L.
 Kelly, Laurence T., J.P.
 Kelly, Matthew, J.P.
 Kelly, Michael, J.P.
 Kelly, Michael Roche, J.P.
 Kelly, Peter, J.P.
 Kelly, Richard H., J.P.
 Kelly, Thomas A.
 Kelly, W. P., Solicitor.
 Kenna, L., L.R.C.P., L.R.C.S.I.
 Kennedy, Charles, J.P.
 Kennedy, Hugh P., Sessional
 Crown Solicitor.
 Kennedy, Joseph M., B.L.
 Kenny, M. I., L.R.C.S.I., L.R.C.P.
 Kenny, M. J., Major.
 Kenny, Patrick Joseph, Solicitor.
 Kenny, Thomas Hugh, Solicitor.
 Kenny, William F., M.A., B.L.
 Keogh, George, J.P., Crown
 Solicitor.
 Keogh, Joseph J., Solicitor.
 Kepple, John, B.A., Solicitor.
 Kerin, Frederick G., Solicitor.
 Kiernan, John Coleman, J.P.
 Kiely, John Vincent, J.P.
 Kilbride, J., M.R.C.S.E., J.P.
 Kilgallon, Peter L., J.P.
 Kilroe, James, J.P.
 King, Charles D., J.P.
 Laffan, Thomas, M.R.C.P.I.,
 Lambert, Nicholas H., J.P.
 Langan, John H., J.P.
 Laverty, Bernard, J.P.
 Lavery, Philip, J.P.
 Leahy, Wm., M.A. (Dub.), Crown
 Solicitor.
 Lenehan, Thomas W., J.P.
 Lentaigne, John, B.A., F.R.C.S.I.
 M.R.I.A.
 Leonard, John, J.P.
 Leonard, Maurice, J.P.
 Leslie, Charles E. J., J.P.
 Lillis, Thomas, J.P.
 Limerick, The Right Worshipful
 The Mayor of.
 Lindsay, H. R., J.P., C.T.C.
 Linehan, John, B.L.
 Liston, Patrick T., Solicitor.
 Little, Edward J., B.A., B.L.
 Little, Francis J., B.A., Solicitor.
 Lombard, James F., J.P.
 Loughnan, Henry James, B.A., B.L.
 Loughran, Henry, J.P.
 Loughrey, Jos., Solicitor.
 Lowry, Edward, J.P.
 Lynam, M. E., J.P.
 Lynch, Major John Wilson, J.P., D.L.
 Lynch, Thomas, Solicitor.
 Lynch, William, Solicitor.
 Lyne, D. J., M.D., J.P.
 Lyons, Wm. H., J.P.
 Lyster, Joseph, J.P.
 M'Ardle, John S., F.R.C.S.I.
 M'Allister, James, J.P.
 M'Bride, Francis, J.P.
 M'Caffrey, James, J.P.
 M'Camphill, Gerald, J.P.
 M'Cann, T. S., junr., B.L.
 M'Cann, James, J.P.
 M'Cartan, M., J.P.
 M'Cartan, M. J., L.R.C.S.,
 L.K.Q.C.P.I., J.P.
 M'Carthy, C., J.P.
 M'Carthy, Charles J., F.R.I.A.
 M'Carthy, Jeremiah, Solicitor.
 M'Carthy, John P., M.D.
 M'Carthy, Patrick, J.P.
 M'Cartie, Daniel, J.P.
 M'Closkey, James, J.P.
 M'Closkey, James, J.P.
 M'Corry, James, J.P.
 M'Coy, Wm. D., Solicitor.
 M'Cormack, C. J., L.R.C.P.,
 L.R.C.S.I.

M'Creanor, Edward, J.P.
 M'Dermot, James, J.P.
 M'Dermott, P. A., F.R.C.S.I.
 M'Dermot, Patrick, J.P.
 M'Donell, Colonel John, J.P., D.L.
 M'Donnell, Charles, J.P., L.R.C.P.E.
 M'Donnell, Daniel, M.A., M.D.
 M'Donnell, Farrell, Solicitor
 M'Donnell, Michael, Solicitor
 M'Donnell, Michael, M.R.C.S.E., J.P.
 M'Donnell, Neil, J.P.
 M'Donnell, Robert, J.P.
 M'Donnell, Thomas J., J.P.
 M'Donuogh, F. J., J.P.
 M'Donough, James, J.P.
 M'Donough, R., J.P.
 M'Dowell, Edward, J.P.
 M'Elligott, Gerald, J.P.
 M'Enerly, William, J.P.
 M'Erlean, Andrew, Solicitor.
 M'Fadden, Edward, Solicitor.
 M'Fadden, M., J.P.
 M'Feeley, J. D., F.R.C.S.I., J.P.
 M'Garry, James, J.P.
 M'Gilligan, Patrick, J.P.
 M'Glinchy, James, J.P.
 M'Glynn, Bernard, J.P.
 M'Govern, T., J.P.
 M'Grath, J. J., L.R.C.S.I.
 M'Guckin, Neal, J.P.
 M'Inerney, M. C., Q.C.
 M'Inerney, T., M.B.
 M'Kendry, Henry, J.P.
 M'Kenna, F. J., M.B., B.CH.
 M'Kenna, Patrick, J.P.
 M'Kenna, Peter, J.P.
 M'Kenna, Richard, J.P.
 M'Kenna, Sir Joseph Neal, J.P., D.L.
 M'Keon, Michael, Solicitor.
 M'Laughlin, James, J.P.
 M'Loughlin, J. T., J.P.
 M'Mahon, Charles, Solicitor.
 M'Mahon, James, J.P.
 M'Mahon, Michael, J.P.
 M'Menamin, P., J.P.
 M'Morrow, John, J.P.
 M'Nally, Charles F., J.P.
 M'Namara, George, L.R.C.S.I.
 M'Namara, P. J., M.D., F.R.C.S.I.,
 J.P.
 M'Namara, Robert, Solicitor.
 M'Nulty, John, J.P.
 M'Nulty, John, L.R.C.S.I., J.P.
 M'Nulty, Thomas, B.A., B.L.
 M'Quaid, John, J.P.
 M'Swiney, Morgan, A.B., M.B., J.P.

M'Swyney, Bryan, J.P.
 M'Veigh, C., J.P.
 M'Veigh, John, J.P.
 M'Weeney, Edmond J., M.A.,
 M.D., M.CH.
 M'Weeney, H. C., M.A., F.R.U.I.
 Macardle, Peter L. Solicitor.
 MacCarthy, Justin, Solicitor
 MacDermott, Joseph E., Solicitor.
 MacDermott, Philip C. P.,
 Solicitor.
 Macnamara, Richard A., Solicitor.
 MacSheehy, John
 Magauran, M. A., J.P.
 Magee, Teague, J.P.
 Magennis, William, M.A., F.R.U.I.,
 B.L.
 Magner, Edward, M.D., J.P.
 Magner, Thos., L.R.C.P.&L.R.C.S.I.,
 J.P.
 Maguire, Bernard, J.P.
 Maguire, Hugh, J.P.
 Maguire, James, J.P.
 Maguire, John, J.P.
 Maguire, Patrick, J.P.
 Maher, Louis, S., J.P.
 Maher, Matthias Aiden, J.P., D.L.
 Maher, Patrick J.P.
 Mallaghan, James, J.P.
 Malone, M. J., M.D., F.R.C.S.I.
 Mangan, Simon, H.M.L.
 Mansfield, George, J.P., D.L.
 Mansfield, Edmund A., Major.
 Mapother, Thomas, A. P., J.P.
 Markey, N., J.P.
 Markey, Thomas, J.P.
 Martin, Jas. C., L.R.C.P., L.R.C.S.I.
 Martyn, Alexander M., J.P.
 Martyn, John, J.P.
 Martyn, Robert J., L.K.Q.C.P.I., J.P.
 Marum, W. M., J.P.
 Maxwell, John, J.P., Solicitor.
 Meagher, Alderman W., J.P.
 Meldon, Austin, M.D.
 Meldon, James F., Solicitor.
 Meldon, John J., Solicitor.
 Meldon, John M., LL.B., Solicitor.
 Meldon, Louis S., Solicitor.
 Mernagh, Patrick, J.P.
 Merrick, Patrick, J.P.
 Metcalfe, Anthony, J.P.
 Minikin, Cecil, Solicitor.
 Mitchell, Thomas R., J.P.
 Moloney, Michael, Solicitor.
 Molloy, John Joseph, J.P.
 Molloy, Alderman T., J.P.

- Molloy, W. R., J.P.
 Moloney, T. F., B.A., LL.B., B.L.
 Molony, M. J., J.P.
 Monaghan, T., J.P.
 Monahan, Henry J., B.A., B.L.
 Monahan, J. H., Q.C.
 Montague, John, J.P.
 Mooney, Dermot J., Solicitor.
 Mooney, W., J.P.
 Moore, Arthur Count, J.P., D.L.
 Moore, J.P., J.P.
 Moran, John, Solicitor.
 Moran, Norbert L., M.A. (Dub.),
 Solicitor.
 More-Madden, R. R., L.R.C.P. & S.I.
 More-Madden, T., M.D., M.K.Q.C.P.I.
 F.R.C.S.
 More O'Ferrall, E., J.P., D.L.
 Moriarty, David M., B.A., Solicitor.
 Moriarty, John F., B.A., B.L.
 Moriarty, Thomas, B.A., M.D.
 Morris, George, J.P.
 Morris, William J., Solicitor.
 Morrogh, John, J.P.
 Moynagh, Michael, LL.D., Crown
 Solicitor.
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 Mulcahy, John, J.P.
 Mulcahy, John Robert, J.P.
 Mulcahy, T. K., L.R.C.S.I.,
 L.K.Q.C.P.S.
 Mulhall, Edward N., J.P.
 Mulhall, John
 Mulhall, Joseph A., Solicitor.
 Mulhern, James, J.P.
 Mulligan, James, J.P.
 Mullins, Major, J.P., C.P.L.G.
 Mulrooney, Edward, J.P.
 Murnaghan, George, J.P.
 Murphy, Dominick, J.P.
 Murphy, Edward R., J.P., C.T.C.
 Murphy, Henry, Solicitor.
 Murphy, J. W., J.P.
 Murphy, James, J.P.
 Murphy, James, Solicitor.
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 Murphy, John, F.R.C.P.I.
 Murphy, John, J.P.
 Murphy, John C., J.P.
 Murphy, N. D., M.A., B.L.
 Murphy, Nicholas, J.P.
 Murphy, Patrick N., Solicitor
 Murphy, Peter, J.P.
 Murphy, Richard J., J.P.
 Murphy, Stephen, J.P.
 Murphy, J. J., L.R.C.P., L.R.C.S.
 Murphy, William M.
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 Murray, James, J.P.
 Murray, Maurice, J.P., D.L.
 Murray, Patrick, J.P.
 Murtagh, Patrick V. C., Solicitor.
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 Neary, James, J.P.
 Neilan, John, J.P.
 Nicholson, Major Thos. Fras., J.P.
 Nicolls, Archibald J., A.B., LL.B.
 (Dub.), B.L.
 Nixon, Sir Christopher, B.A., LL.D.,
 M.D., F.R.C.P.I., J.P.
 Nolan, Andrew, J.P.
 Nolan, Anthony, Solicitor.
 Nolan, Cornelius, L.K.Q.C.P.I.,
 L.R.C.S.I.
 Nolan, Michael J., J.P., C.P.L.G.
 Nolan, Pierce L., B.A., B.L.
 Noonan, John, J.P.
 Norton, P. R., J.P.
 Nugent, Sir Walter, Bart., J.P.
 Nunan, William, J.P.
 O'Beirne, Geo., M.R.C.P.I., L.R.C.S.I.
 O'Beirne, Thomas J., J.P.
 O'Brien, Ignatius J., B.L.
 O'Brien, James, J.P., D.L.
 O'Brien, James V.
 O'Brien, Joseph, L.R.C.P., J.P.
 O'Brien, Michael, J.P.
 O'Brien, Patrick, J.P.
 O'Brien, Patrick, J.P.
 O'Brien, Richard R., J.P.
 O'Callaghan, P., J.P.
 O'Callaghan, Patrick, J.P.
 O'Carroll, Joseph, M.D., F.R.C.P.I.
 O'Connell, Charles, B.L.
 O'Connell, Daniel, J.F., D.L.
 O'Connell, Daniel, J.P.
 O'Connell, Peter R., J.P., M.D.
 O'Connell, Thomas F., Solicitor,
 v.P. Incorporated Law Society.
 O'Connor, James, J.P.
 O'Connor, James, Solicitor.
 O'Connor, John T., Solicitor.
 O'Connor, Michael J., Solicitor.
 O'Connor, Valentine J.
 O'Connor, Charles M., J.P., D.L.
 O'Dempsey, Thomas J., Solicitor.
 O'Doherty, Francis J., J.P.
 O'Doherty, James, J.P.
 O'Doherty, William, Solicitor and
 Coroner.
 O'Doherty, James Edw., Solicitor.
 O'Donnell, Bryan, J.P.

O'Donnell, Charles E., Solicitor.
 O'Donnell, James, J.P.
 O'Donnell, John, M.B., B.CH. (Irl.)
 O'Donnell, Michael, J.P.
 O'Donnell, Myles, J.P.
 O'Donnell, Patrick, J.P.
 O'Donohue, Michael, J.P.
 O'Donovan, Jeremiah, F.R.C.S.I., J.P.
 O'Driscoll, A., J.P.
 O'Driscoll, D., J.P.
 O'Dwyer, Patrick J., J.P.
 O'Dwyer, Peter, L.R.Q.C.P., L.R.C.S.I.
 O'Ferrall, Ambrose Moore, J.P., D.L.
 O'Flaherty, Bernard J., B.A. (Lon.), Solicitor.
 O'Flinn, John, J.P.
 O'Flynn, Andw., L.R.C.P.I., M.R.C.S., J.P.
 O'Gorman, James, J.P.
 O'Gorman, Michael C., L.R.C.S.I., M.R.C.S., J.P.
 O'Grady, F. R., L.R.C.S. & P.I., J.P.
 O'Hagan, Felix, J.P.
 O'Hagan, P. J., L.R.C.P.I. & L.R.C.S.I.
 O'Halloran, Thomas, J.P.
 O'Hanlon, Francis J., J.P.
 O'Hanlon, Michael J., L.R.C.S.I., M.R.I.A., J.P.
 O'Hare, Thomas, J.P.
 O'Hea, Michael, J.P.
 O'Kane, Francis, J.P.
 O'Kane, James, J.P.
 O'Kane, J. P., J.P.
 O'Kane, John, J.P.
 O'Keefe, Arthur, J.P.
 O'Keefe, P., M.D.
 O'Kelly, Edward P. O., J.P.
 O'Kelly, John A., J.P.
 O'Kelly, Robert, L.K.Q.C.P.I., J.P.
 O'Leary, Barry, J.P.
 O'Loughlin, Patrick John, Solicitor.
 O'Mahony, Jeremiah, J.P.
 O'Mahony, Thomas K., J.P.
 O'Malley, A. M., J.P.
 O'Malley, Joseph, B.A., B.E.
 O'Malley, Middleton Moore, J.P.
 O'Mara, James, J.P.
 O'Meara, J. David, LL.D., Solicitor.
 O'Meara, John, J.P.
 O'Meara, Michael Cartan, Solicitor
 O'Meara, Thomas, Solicitor.
 O'Meehan, Patrick, L.D.S., R.C.S.I.
 O'Neill, Felix, J.P.
 O'Neill, Henry, J.P.
 O'Neill-Power, Joseph, J.P., D.L.

O'Reilly, James, J.P.
 O'Reilly, J. P., C.E., M.R.I.A., Dean
 Royal Coll. Sc., Dub.
 O'Reilly, Joseph, J.P.
 O'Reilly, Joseph R., J.P., D.L.
 O'Reilly, Philip, J.P., D.L.
 O'Reilly, Peter, L.R.C.S.I., J.P.
 O'Reilly, William
 O'Riordan, John, Solicitor.
 O'Shaughnessy, James, M.R.C.S., (Eng.), J.P.
 O'Shaughnessy, John J., J.P.
 O'Shaughnessy, P., J.P.
 O'Shaughnessy, Thomas, Solicitor.
 O'Shaughnessy, W. F., B.A., Sol.
 O'Shee, Nicholas Power, J.P., D.L.
 O'Sullivan, E., J.P.
 O'Sullivan, Florence, J.P.
 O'Sullivan, George, J.P.
 O'Sullivan, John J., J.P.
 O'Sullivan, Michael, M.B., B.CH. (Irl.)
 Owens, Charles, J.P.
 Packenham, James, J.P.
 Padin, Patrick
 Phelan, Thomas, J.P.
 Pigott, Robert, J.P.
 Plunkett, Ambrose, Solicitor.
 Plunkett, George Noble, Count.
 Plunkett, Hyacinth, B.L.
 Powell, Henry F., L.R.C.P. & S., J.P.
 Power, John H., J.P.
 Power, Maurice, J.P.
 Power, Nicholas A.
 Power, Patk. J. M., J.P.
 Power, Richd., J.P.
 Power, Sir John Talbot, Bart., J.P., D.L.
 Prendergast, Col. James Archer, J.P.
 Preston, The Hon. Edward, J.P., D.L.
 Preston, The Hon. Thomas, J.P., D.L.
 Purcell, D., Solicitor.
 Purcell, Philip
 Purcell, Philip, J.P.
 Pye, J. P., D.Sc., M.D., F.R.U.I., J.P.
 Quigley, E., J.P.
 Quin, James, J.P.
 Quinlan, F. J. B., M.D., F.R.C.P.
 Quinn, Bernard, J.P.
 Quinn, John, Solicitor.
 Quirke, Patrick, J.P.
 Quirke, Thomas George, LL.D., Solicitor.
 Rafferty, Patrick, J.P.
 Rafferty, William A., J.P.
 Raleigh, Patrick, J.P.

- Raycroft, Charles, J.P.
 Redmond, Michael J., J.P.
 Redmond, Joseph M., M.D., F.R.C.P.
 Redington, Samuel P., Solicitor.
 Reilly, John, J.P.
 Reordan, D. J., J.P.
 Reynolds, Laurence P., J.P.
 Rhatigan, Patrick, J.P.
 Rice, Edward, J.P.
 Rice, Richard, Solicitor & Coroner.
 Rice, Thomas, Sessional Crown Solicitor.
 Rickard, John, J.P.
 Riordan, James, Crown Solicitor.
 Robinson, Edward, J.P.
 Roche, Anthony, M.R.C.P.I., F.S.I., G.R.B.
 Roche, Henry J., J.P.
 Roche, Jeremiah, J.P.
 Roche, J. J., J.P.
 Roche, Thomas Redington, D.L.
 Roden, John F., L.R.C.S., J.P.
 Rogers, Charles, J.P.
 Ronan, William, J.P.
 Rooney, Patrick J., Solicitor.
 Rorke, L. B., J.P.
 Ross, James, J.P.
 Ross-of-Bladensburg, Major John Foster-George, C.B., D.L.
 Roantree, Wm., L.R.C.S.I., L.R.C.P.I., J.P.
 Rowe, John
 Rushbrooke, Capt. Wm. Henry, J.P.
 Ryan, Charles E., F.R.C.S., J.P.
 Ryder, Christopher, Count, J.P.
 Ryan, Edmond Fitzgerald, J.P.
 Ryan, Edward P., J.P.
 Ryan, F. J., L.R.C.S. & P.
 Ryan, George A., C.E.
 Ryan, George E., J.P., D.L.
 Ryan, James D., M.D., J.P.
 Ryan, John, J.P.
 Ryan, John, Solicitor.
 Ryan, Major-General, J.P., D.L.
 Ryan, Richard, M.D., J.P.
 Ryan, Thomas, J.P.
 Ryan, Thomas V., Solicitor
 Ryan, W. J., Solicitor
 Ryan, Wm. A., B.A., B.L.
 Sampson, F. C., M.D.
 Scallan, Francis J., Solicitor.
 Scallan, John L., Solicitor.
 Scallan, William, Solicitor.
 Scallan, William J., J.P.
 Scanlan, Thomas, Solicitor, C.T.C.
 Scanlan, Thomas, J.P., T.C.
 Sexton, T.
 Shanahan, John F., L.R.C.P. & L.R.C.S.I.
 Shee, James J., J.P.
 Shee, Nicholas K., J.P.
 Shee, W. J., L.R.C.P., L.R.C.S.I.
 Sheehy, George L., J.P.
 Sheehy, Major Bryan E., J.P.
 Sheedy, Michael M., L.R.C.P. & S., (Edin.)
 Sheehy, Thomas, J.P.
 Sheridan, Wm. T., Solicitor.
 Shields, F. Peter, J.P.
 Sheridan, Richard, J.P.
 Sherlock, David, J.P., D.L.
 Shine, James, J.P.
 Shipsey, Edward, M.D., J.P.
 Sinnott, James, J.P.
 Sinnott, John A., Solicitor.
 Slattery, John, J.P.
 Smith, Alfred J., M.B., M.A.O. (Irl.)
 Smith, Frederick, J.P.
 Smith, Louis C. P., Solicitor.
 Smith, Philip Law, M.A., LL.D., B.L.
 Smithwick, Edmond, J.P.
 Smithwick, John F., J.P.
 Smyth, John, J.P.
 Smyth, William, M.D., M.CH., J.P.
 Somers, J. L., M.D., J.P.
 Spillane, William, J.P., D.L.
 Spring, Richard F., J.P.
 Stack, F. J., J.P.
 Stapleton, Edward, Solicitor.
 Staunton, M. C., M.D., B.CH.
 Steinberger, V., M.A., F.R.U.I.
 Stephenson, M. R.
 Strahan, Michael, L.R.C.S.I., L.R.C.P. (Edin.)
 Sugrue, E. J., J.P.
 Sullivan, D. B., Q.C.
 Sweeney, Ambrose, J.P.
 Sweeney, Michael G., J.P.
 Sweetman, Edmund, J.P., D.L.
 Sweetman, John, J.P.
 Sweetman, Lawrence, J.P.
 Sweetman, M. F., J.P.
 Taafe, George
 Talbot, John H., J.P. D.L.
 Tapley, John, Solicitor.
 Taylor, John F., Q.C.
 Teeling, C. H., Q.C.
 Therry, John, J.P.
 Tiernan, Thaddeus, J.P.
 Tierney, John, J.P.

Tierney, Joseph, Solicitor.	Ward, William, J.P.
Tighe, Edward J., J.P.	Waterford, The Mayor of.
Tighe, Thomas, J.P., D.L.	Watters, Lewis James, LL.D., Crown Solicitor.
Tobin, Richard F., F.R.C.S.I., L.K.Q.C.P.I.	Welsh, J., J.P.
Todd, John J., M.D., C.T.C., J.P.	Whelan, Francis, J.P.
Tothall, Henry, J.P.	White, John E., J.P., D.L.
Tracey, Daniel J., Solicitor.	White, Matthew J., A.B., Solicitor.
Trant, J., L.R.C.S.I., L.R.C.P.I., J.P.	White, Patrick N., J.P., T.C.
Treanor, Hugh, J.P.	White, P. F., M.A., Q.C.
Tumpane, John F., J.P.	White, Philip A. O'C., B.L.
Tyndall, Joseph P., Solicitor.	White, Thomas O'K., Solicitor.
Vaughan, J., M.D., J.P.	White, Thomas
Wall, Luke, Solicitor.	White, William J., J.P.
Wallace, Robert P., J.P.	Whyte, John J., J.P., D.L.
Walsh, Cornelius, Solicitor.	Wigmore, D. S., J.P.
Walsh, Edmond, Alderman, J.P.	Wilson, Thomas, M.R.C.S. (Eng.), L.K.Q.C.P.I., J.P.
Walsh, John, J.P.	Windle, Thos. M'Carthy, Solicitor.
Walsh, John C., J.P., D.L.	Wrafter, Francis, Solicitor.
Walsh, John P., J.P.	Wray, John F., B.A., LL.B., Solicitor.
Walsh, Joseph	Wright, A. M., J.P.
Walsh, R., J.P.	Wyse, L. W. Bonaparte, J.P.
Walsh, Peter	Yaw, J., J.P.
Ward, John, J.P.	

WE, the undersigned Protestant Members of Parliament, representing Irish Constituencies, support the Claim put forward in the above Declaration of the Catholic Laity of Ireland :—

Wm. Abraham, M.P.	E. F. V. Knox, M.P.
Edward Blake, M.P.	John H. Parnell, M.P.
A. J. C. Donelan, M.P.	John Pinkerton, M.P.
J. Eustace Jameson, M.P.	James Roche, M.P.
Jeremiah Jordan, M.P.	Charles K. D. Tanner, M.P.
Richard McGhee, M.P.	Samuel Young, M.P.
J. G. Swift Mac Neill, M.P.	

XLII.

THE CATHOLIC GRIEVANCE DENIED :
LETTER OF PROTEST FROM THE
ARCHBISHOP.

(January 1st, 1897.)

THE CATHOLIC GRIEVANCE DENIED :
LETTER OF PROTEST, FROM THE
ARCHBISHOP.

(*January 2nd, 1897.*)

[The Declaration of the Catholic Laity, printed in the preceding section of this volume,¹ was published in the Dublin newspapers of the 1st January, 1897. One of those newspapers, a leading exponent of Protestant opinion, in its issue of that day, treated the Declaration as an "anachronism," representing it as having reference to a "state of things that has passed away."

In reply to this bold denial that any grievance in this matter remains to be redressed, the following letter was written :—

ARCHBISHOP'S HOUSE,

DUBLIN, *New Year's Day, 1897.*

SIR,—I regret to find in your issue of
An
"anachronism!" to-day an article showing what I must
take the liberty of describing as a total
want of appreciation of the present position of the Irish
University question. Commenting on the notable Declaration on this subject from the Catholic laity of Ireland,²
published in this morning's newspapers, you speak of that
Declaration as "an anachronism." "It is now," you say,
"ancient history; and the state of things which it
represented has passed away."

¹See page 481.

² *Ibid.*

Inequality and equality. Now, let us see. The Declaration protests against the inequality which, to the disadvantage of the Catholic body in Ireland, is still maintained by the State in this country, in the department of University education. It affirms the notorious fact that "a large number of Irishmen are at present precluded from the enjoyment of University education, honours, and emoluments, on account of conscientious religious opinions regarding the existing systems of education."¹ Affirming this fact, what does the Declaration claim? Simply this, that such a change should now be made in the existing system of Collegiate and University education "as will place those who entertain those conscientious objections on a footing of equality with the rest of their fellow-countrymen, as regards Colleges, University honours and emoluments, University examination, government, and representation."

Now, here we have a fact and a claim. A fact and a claim. The fact is that an inequality which is the result of "conscientious religious opinions" is maintained in Ireland by the State, to the disadvantage of those by whom those conscientious religious opinions are held.² The claim is that this inequality be removed. The fact is undeniable. The justice of the claim is a necessary consequence of that fact. All this being so, I fail to see where the "anachronism" comes in, or what we have here to do with "ancient history," or with history of any kind, except indeed the history of the repeated admissions of responsible statesmen and Ministers of the Crown that a grievance, to the heavy disadvantage of Irish Catholics, exists in this matter of University

¹ See pages 139, 140, and 153-164.

² *Ibid.*

education in Ireland, and that this grievance ought to be removed.

It will be admitted on all hands that
A retrospect. nothing has been done by the State to
improve matters in this respect, let us say,
for the last ten or twelve years. I begin with the year 1885,
the year in which I first had to deal with this question as
an Irish Bishop.

Speaking in the September of that year, in reply to an address presented to me by the students of Blackrock College, I made my first protest on the subject.¹ It was practically to the same effect as the protest of the Catholic laity, published to-day. I was assured, however, next morning, by a representative Conservative journal of this city that in seeking to raise the University question as a question of practical politics I was merely wasting my time. The subject was "dead." It was not to be even "galvanized into activity." "Everybody except Archbishop Walsh" was "sick of it." The question of University education in Ireland had, in fact, been "amicably settled" to the satisfaction of "every class in the Irish community" by the establishment of the Royal University. And there was an end of it.²

This is all so like the position taken up in your article of this morning, that I think I cannot now do better than confront the comments of that article with the series of important statements from statesmen and Ministers of the Crown to which I have already referred. That was the line that I took, not without effect, in 1885. It is a line that, as a result of all that has since occurred, can be taken with still greater effect now.

¹ See pages 53-58.

² See pages 61, 62.

1. Not many months before the date of the incident I have mentioned, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, on the 28th of July, 1885, speaking in the House of Commons as Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the House, not merely admitted the existence of the Catholic grievance, and the importance of the question raised by it, but distinctly recognised it as one of the matters to be dealt with by a Government measure in the next session of Parliament. He spoke of the question as requiring "the very serious and early attention of Her Majesty's Government," and he added :—

"If it be our lot to be in authority next year, I hope that we shall be able to advance some proposal which will be a satisfactory settlement of this most important question."¹

The "very serious" and "early" attention of the Government! That was eleven years ago. Not one iota has since been done for the settlement of the question by any Ministry, Conservative or Liberal. And yet the Catholics of Ireland are now to be told that their grievances in this matter have long since been removed, and that all reference to the existing state of things as unsatisfactory is "an anachronism," applicable only to some period of "ancient history" that has long since "passed away!"

2. Four years after the date of Sir Mr. Balfour. Michael Hicks-Beach's words of promise, as yet unfulfilled, Mr. Balfour was questioned in the House of Commons, as Chief Secretary for Ireland, on the 15th of July, 1889, as to whether his attention had been called to a series of resolutions of the Catholic Bishops of Ireland. In those resolutions, the Bishops had claimed

¹ See page 66.

that the existing inequality in the matter of higher education in Ireland should be removed by the Government.¹ Mr. Balfour's reply was distinct :—

“The resolutions deal with many questions, and cover the whole field of education in Ireland. Without giving specific answers to the various points alluded to in them, I may say that some of them, notably higher education, have long been under the consideration of the Government, and in respect to them we hope to be able to make proposals to the House.”²

3. Then followed an interesting incident.

Mr. Balfour's statement emphasized. One of the grievances complained of by the Bishops was that of the exceptional privileges then enjoyed by the Training College of the National Education Board in Marlborough-street. Mr. Morley asked whether that question was engaging the attention of the Government. Mr. Balfour answered that

“They [the Government] had been long considering the question of Training Colleges, and he thought something should be done in regard to them,³ but he did not put them on the same level of interest as higher education.”

And now we are told that there is no question of higher education having a claim to be dealt with at all !

Let me observe, in passing, that Mr. Balfour has long since dealt with the question of lesser interest, that of the Training Colleges, and has dealt with it by a measure of reform, which, as I have more than once stated in public speech,⁴ may well be taken as a model by any British Minister anxious to remove by a measure of absolute justice any existing Irish educational grievance. But my present point is that, whilst that question, which was described as a question of lesser interest, has been dealt

¹ See pages 119, 120.

² See page 123.

³ See page 124, *footnote*

⁴ See page 515.

with, the University question, which is of far higher interest, has not as yet been even touched, and that, moreover, we are now equivalently told that there is no such question at all !

Further statement
from
Mr. Balfour.

4. On the 28th of August, in the same year, in his speech on the Appropriation Bill, Mr. Balfour was still more explicit in his recognition of the grievance—

“ I repeat in the House what I have said outside the House, that in my opinion something ought to be done to give higher University education to the Roman Catholics of Ireland. . . .

“ The experiment of undenominational higher education has now been tried sufficiently long to make it, I am afraid, perfectly clear that nothing Parliament has hitherto done to promote that object will really meet the wants and wishes of the Roman Catholic population of that country.

“ This being so, we have no alternative but to try and devise some scheme by which the wants of the Catholic population shall be met.” ¹

By this time we had got so far ahead that, to my natural and very great satisfaction, I found soon afterwards, in the same Conservative newspaper that had so summarily disposed of my speech on the subject in 1885, a candid recognition that the Catholic case had been fully made out. On the 8th of November, commenting on a speech of mine made on the previous day, *The Dublin Evening Mail* was good enough to describe my arguments on the subject as “ conclusive,” and my “ assault ” on mixed education as “ triumphant,” and to say that

“ There seems no resource left but a Catholic University.” ²

Surely it cannot be that, after all this, we are now to be asked to begin at the beginning and set about arguing the case all over again ?

¹ See pages 133, 134.

² See page 189.

Mr. Balfour's
Partick speech.

6. Whoever else may take such a view of the case, the present First Lord of the Treasury, I am sure, will not. Speaking again in the same year, 1889, at Partick, on the 2nd of December, he was no less emphatic, and he was even more explicit, in his reference to the Irish University question than he had been in either of his speeches in the House of Commons.

He described the existing state of things in Ireland in this respect as "not creditable," and as one that he could not look upon "with equanimity." He spoke of Trinity College, with its Protestant place of worship and Protestant service, and its chairs of Protestant theology, as being still what it always had been—

"If not by its constitution, at all events by its composition, a Protestant institution."¹

And he added—

"You cannot ignore the fact, when you are considering the condition of education in Ireland, that the whole current of thought in such an institution is, and must be, antagonistic to the current of thought which would be acceptable to the large majority of the Irish people."²

He spoke of the objections, "the undoubtedly conscientious objections, of Irish Catholics to use the means of University education at present at their disposal," and then he went on to say—

"It is not our business to inquire how far the undoubtedly conscientious objections of the Roman Catholic population to use the means of education at their disposal are wise or unwise. *That is not our business.* What we have to do is to consider what we can do consistently with our conscience to meet their wants."³

¹ See pages 196, 197.

² See page 197.

³ See page 202.

After suggesting that "those great places of Protestant education—not exclusively Protestant, but mainly Protestant—Trinity College, Dublin, and Queen's College, Belfast," would be "greatly strengthened" by the establishment of a suitable provision for the University education of the Catholics of Ireland, he put to his hearers the significant question :—

"Whether we are not acting a most unwise part if we give any colour to the belief that a large part of Her Majesty's subjects in Ireland may claim from our hands the greatest of all boons—the boon of increased knowledge—and that this boon shall be refused to them by our prejudices acting upon the Houses of Parliament." ¹

But this, it seems, is all in reference to a grievance that had passed out of existence years before Mr. Balfour had even come upon the stage of Irish politics ! And the words of this eminently practical statesman are to be treated as if they had no more reference to an existing state of things in Ireland than if they were the dream of some doting recluse !

7. As I am quoting only the statements
 Judge Webb and Lord Justice
 FitzGibbon. officially made by responsible statesmen
 and Ministers of the Crown, I merely
 mention here the noteworthy declarations
 made at the opening meeting of the Trinity College Historical Society in 1892, by Judge Webb and Lord Justice FitzGibbon. Both, speaking as Protestants, proud of the Protestant traditions of Trinity College, frankly recognised the existence of the Catholic grievance. Both pointed out the remedy—the establishment, as Judge Webb expressed it, of another University, "Catholic, chartered, and endowed." ² Both advocated the establishment of such a

¹ See page 203.

² See page 250.

University, not alone on the ground of justice to Irish Catholics, but on the ground also that Trinity College and the University of Dublin cannot continue as they are, and to be made safe against incessant and eventually successful attack, unless the College and University "rest on the foundation of justice," through the establishment of a system which will supply to all Irishmen alike who need University education, "the means of obtaining it *on equal terms*." ¹

But, all this, you inform your readers, we already have, and it is a mere "anachronism," and a raking up of "ancient history," if the Catholic laity of Ireland speak of the absence of it as a grievance of the present day!

8. Having referred to this testimony from Mr. T. W. Russell. the Protestant Episcopalian side, it might seem discourteous if I were to omit noticing the equally frank recognition of our grievance by Mr. T. W. Russell, in an article written by him, whilst yet a private member, in *The Fortnightly Review* for February, 1892. Mr. Russell's words on the subject are as follows:—

"So far as University education is concerned, the Catholic grievance is *too plain to be ignored*. So long as the atmosphere is what it is in the University of Dublin and in Trinity College²—i.e., so long as there is a Protestant chapel and service, a Protestant Divinity School, and a teaching staff almost entirely Protestant, it is impossible to say that Catholics ought to be content.

"Nor can it be fairly urged that the Royal University—a mere examining board—adequately supplies the place of a teaching University.

"I say the grievance here is undoubted. It ought to be dealt with in a liberal and fair spirit. On this branch of the question I go quite as far as Mr. Balfour went in his speech [in 1889]."

¹ See page 253.

² See page 43, and the pages there referred to in *footnote 1*.

9. We now come to the present Ministry.

Earl Cadogan. In his speech at Belfast on the 15th of last January, his Excellency, the present Lord Lieutenant, spoke of the question of Irish University Education as a question with which the present Government "have to deal."¹

I quite agree with you that if, as you have stated in your issue of to-day, the Declaration of the Catholic laity, published this morning, was an "anachronism," or mere "ancient history," and if "the state of things" described in that Declaration had, as you say, "passed away,"—if the equality claimed in that direction had already been conceded to the Catholics of Ireland, as you seem to think that it has been,—it would indeed show "a singular want of sagacity and statesmanship" on the part of the present Government to waste either their own time or the time of Parliament in dealing with the question to which the Declaration refers. But as the Government have already recognised that question as one with which they "have to deal," we may feel very confident that they will form a very different estimate from that formed by you of the weight to be attached to that impressive Declaration, and of the light in which it is to be read.

10. Last in chronological order comes the Mr. G. W. Balfour, statement made upon the subject by the present Chief Secretary, in the House of Commons, on the 24th of last July. Speaking of the attempts at a solution of the question in the past—attempts which, in your view of the case, must have been eminently successful—Mr. Balfour said :—

"Most of the endeavours to solve the question had, he was afraid, been failures, which had brought more or less discredit on those who

¹ See page 413.

had attempted its solution, He did not know, if he was to try and solve it, that he should be more fortunate than those who had preceded him. He was not in a position to pledge the Government in this matter ; but he repeated that, so far as he was personally concerned, he should be glad to try and make a solution of the problem, and it would be a great pride to him if, before he ceased to hold the office he now held, he could feel that even some step had been taken towards the solution of a problem which he was certain was intimately bound up with the future prosperity of Ireland.”¹

It is to be hoped that whatever effort the Chief Secretary may make for the solution of the problem, the high importance of which he so fully recognises, may be as conspicuous a success as the attempts hitherto made have been conspicuous failures. In the history of those attempts he may find ample instruction as to the pitfalls that he has to avoid. In the principles so plainly enunciated in the Declaration now published, he has the key to the solution of the whole problem. Equality is the one thing necessary. It is a safe standard, and one most easily applied. It was the principle kept steadily in view by his predecessor, in the solution of the critical problem of the Training Colleges.² In that case, a steadfast adherence to the principle of equality has led to a result practically without parallel in the history of Irish remedial measures. For not merely has the grievance been absolutely removed, not a vestige of it being left behind, but Mr. Balfour's success in the removal of it has been so palpable that even the sturdiest opponents of his project of reform have been unable since the realization of it, to raise even a whisper of criticism against the result.

But whatever may now be attempted for the solution of

¹ See pages 413, 414.

² See pages 124, 501, and 515.

the University question, and whatever the result of the attempt may be, it is satisfactory to be able to feel assured from the expressions I have quoted, that the Declaration of the Catholic laity, which, like the recent Declaration of the Irish Episcopacy,¹ is now in the hands of the Government, is in no danger of being tossed aside on the plea that it is mere "ancient history," and refers only to grievances that have long since "passed away."

I remain, sir, your faithful Servant,

✠ WILLIAM J. WALSH,
Archbishop of Dublin.

¹ See pages 417-424.

XLIII.

A QUESTION OF PROCEDURE: LETTER
OF THE ARCHBISHOP.

(January 7th, 1897.)

A QUESTION OF PROCEDURE: LETTER OF THE ARCHBISHOP.

(*January 7th*, 1897).

[On the 6th of January in the present year, an important reference to the Irish University Question was made by Lord Russell of Killowen, Lord Chief Justice of England, at a Dinner at which he presided, in Dublin, on the occasion of the inauguration of a College Union of the Past Students of St. Vincent's College, Castleknock

The comments of one of the Dublin newspapers on the Lord Chief Justice's speech are dealt with in the following letter.]

ARCHBISHOP'S HOUSE,
DUBLIN, *January 7th*, 1897.

SIR,

The Daily Express has been so fair towards me on many occasions of controversy between us, especially of controversy in reference to the Irish University question, that I am happy to find myself in a position to express my concurrence in any statement of yours upon that subject.

Commenting this morning on Lord Russell's admirable speech in advocacy of our claim in Catholic Ireland to have a National University worthy of the name, you judiciously insist that the Government should not undertake the settlement of our University question without making sure of its ground beforehand. You say:—

“To make an ambitious start without first ascertaining whether it will be supported by the Roman Catholic clergy and laity is to invite another failure.”

In all this I thoroughly concur. It is precisely because

successive Governments have made the mistake of attempting to settle this question without first taking steps to ascertain whether the schemes upon which they were willing to stake their credit were such as would meet the requirements of the case, that we have had so many failures of British statesmanship to grapple successfully with the problem.

As Lord Russell expressed it yesterday evening, "The history of the education question in Ireland . . . in primary, in secondary, in superior education, has been one continual history of offering to Ireland, not what Ireland wanted, but what external authority thought that Ireland ought to want; not a responding to the wishes of the people, but a prescription from the outside by those who supposed that they knew better than the Irish people what the Irish people ought to want."

It is to be hoped that the present Government may in this respect be wiser than their predecessors. If they are, they need not be deterred by the long line of failures that have marked the path of attempted reform in the University system of Ireland from 1845 to the present day. For there is not one of those failures that cannot be plainly traced to the neglect of the simple precaution indicated in the sentence I have quoted from your article of this morning.

I remain, Sir,

Faithfully yours,

✠ WILLIAM J. WALSH,

Archbishop of Dublin.

APPENDIX.



MR. A. J. BALFOUR AND THE IRISH TRAINING COLLEGES.

[In the course of this volume, more than one reference has been made to the removal by Mr. Balfour of a long-standing grievance connected with the system of Colleges for the training of National School teachers in Ireland.¹ It seems not out of place to insert here the following extract from a speech in which that remedial act of administration was spoken of at the time by the Archbishop. The speech was delivered at a meeting held in one of the halls of St. Patrick's Training College for Catholic Male Teachers, Drumcondra, on the occasion of the laying of the first stone of the new College buildings, on the 26th of October, 1891.

The grievance consisted in the inequality with which the "denominational" Training Colleges, whether Catholic or Protestant, were treated, in the matter of State aid, as compared with the official Training College in Marlborough-street, Dublin, which was maintained on the "undenominational" or "mixed" system. In the case of the denominational Colleges, three-fourths of the cost of their maintenance and working was defrayed out of public funds, one-fourth having to be provided from private sources. This was not, in itself, an inequitable arrangement. It was, and is, the arrangement in operation in England for all the Training Colleges of the country. But, in Ireland, it was rendered essentially inequitable by the fact that there was one favoured Training College, the official College in Marlborough-street, organized on the "mixed" system, and entirely supported by the State.

The case was at length taken in hand by Mr. Balfour, towards the close of his tenure of the office of Chief Secretary for Ireland, in 1891. The plan of reform which he devised was based upon the principle of absolute equality, as between the various Colleges. It was a simple plan, and it has been as successful as it was simple.

All the Irish Training Colleges are now placed on a footing of absolute equality in the matter of State aid, the public grants being made on the principle of a uniform capitation rate, so that the amount of the grant, each year, in each case, depends only on the number of students in training in the College. In addition to this, as the official Training College in Marlborough-street, with its two departments for male and female students, was built at the public expense, Mr. Balfour provided for the payment out

¹ See pages 124, 501, and 507.

of public funds, to each of the Training Colleges for male and female students, Catholic and Protestant, in Dublin, a sum equal to the certified valuation of the buildings that had been erected out of private resources in each case.

When brought forward in Parliament, embodied in a Government Bill, Mr. Balfour's scheme of reform met with fierce opposition from Mr. T. W. Russell and others. As a result of this, the Bill had to be withdrawn. Acting, however, on an ingenious suggestion of Mr. Sexton's,¹ Mr. Balfour then undertook to give effect to his scheme by placing the requisite vote, each year, on the Parliamentary Estimates.² To this ingenious plan, determined opposition was given by Mr. T. W. Russell, who had led the opposition to the Bill. But the success of Mr. Balfour's scheme has been so complete, and its fairness towards all the interests concerned is so obviously unquestionable, that the opposition which, it was threatened, would be kept up from year to year in the discussion on the Estimates, has never since even been heard of.

The whole case is, in many of its aspects, a singularly instructive one.]

In the earlier part of his speech, the Archbishop traced the history of the Irish system of Training Colleges through its various stages, from the time when no other Training College but that organized on the principle of "mixed" education, and maintained exclusively at the cost of the State, was even recognised by the educational authorities in Ireland, down to the period then closing, when denominational Training Colleges had been recognised and aided by the State, but only under conditions of grievous inequality as compared with the official College which had previously been so long maintained in absolute monopoly. He then went on to say :—

"This brings us to the third, and I hope I may say the final, stage in this prolonged struggle. It was inaugurated by an official letter addressed last November to the Commissioners of National Education by the present, or, as I believe I should now rather call him, the late Chief Secretary, Mr. Balfour.

¹ See *Hansard*, July 31st, 1891, col. 974.

² *Ibid.*, 977, 978.

“This is the first opportunity I have had of making public reference to that letter, and of the policy to which it gives expression. I feel that I am bound to say of it, as I am happy to be able to say without qualification or reserve, that the plan of reform sketched out in Mr. Balfour’s letter, or fully covered by the principles laid down in that letter, is not merely a satisfactory plan, but that it is, as far as my experience goes, the first instance of remedial action ever taken by an English Minister for the removal of an Irish educational grievance, not by a measure of mere compromise, hedged in by irritating restrictions and limitations, but by a plain unqualified endorsement of the entire case made out by those on whom the grievance had pressed.

“But there is more than this. I could conceive a measure of reform, satisfactory in itself, leaving no loophole for fault-finding, having within it no shadow of drawback, and yet falling short of this particular act of remedial administration in one noteworthy particular. Statesmen in doing an act of justice are usually content with the act itself. They do not feel called upon to put on public record, in official form, an express endorsement of the principle on which the demand for reform was based. But in the present case this further step has been taken; and I confess that—though it may seem a matter merely of sentiment—I attach, if possible, more importance to the Chief Secretary’s outspoken endorsement of the principle of equality, than I do even to the concession of the measure of equality which is the logical consequence of his acceptance of that principle.

“Here is the passage of the Chief Secretary’s official letter to which I refer. After quoting a favourable

expression of opinion which he had received from the Board of National Education, Mr. Balfour proceeds:—

‘In view of this expression of opinion on the part of the Board of National Education, and of representations of a similar import from eminent Roman Catholic authorities, which from time to time have been made, in and out of Parliament, the Irish Government, with the consent of the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty’s Treasury, have resolved to bring the whole question to a settlement.’—

“I interrupt the quotation for a moment to note that there is here no question of cutting down claims, or of compromise or patchwork of any sort. The words are, ‘to bring the whole question to a settlement.’ Well, the letter goes on—

‘The Irish Government, with the consent of the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty’s Treasury, have resolved to bring the whole question to a settlement, by a re-construction of the training system in the Marlborough-street College and the three Denominational Colleges, on a principle which will secure an all-round equality of treatment in the award of the public funds.’

“Now in these words we have an absolutely unqualified acceptance of the principle on which I have from the first rested our claims for a reform. Looking back to the report of what I said here on the occasion of my first visit to this College, six years ago, I find that I used these words:—

‘What we want is equality, and we shall not allow ourselves to be put off with one iota less.’²

“And again:—

‘We must have one set of rules, and one set of rules only, applicable in their integrity to Training Colleges of whatever sort—undenominational or denominational, Catholic or Protestant’³

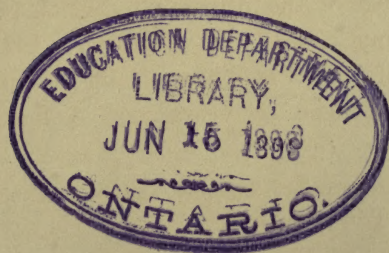
¹ See *The Freeman's Journal* of Wednesday, 30th September, 1885. See also *Addresses by the Most Rev. Dr. Walsh, Archbishop of Dublin*, (Dublin 1886), pages 195-210.

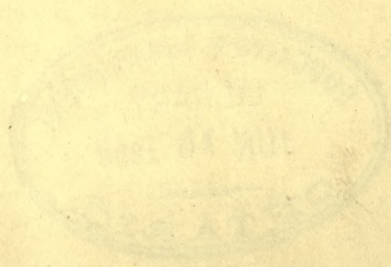
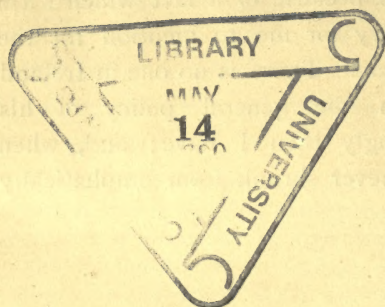
² *Ibid.*, page 205.

³ *Ibid.*, page 210.

"Well, so far as the principle laid down by the Chief Secretary is concerned, that result has now been reached; and for my part I have no hesitation in expressing my confidence that the policy, now unreservedly endorsed by official authority, will be unreservedly applied.

"I ought, I think to add, that in what I have said about Mr. Balfour's action in this matter, I have spoken with all the more pleasure because of a fact which I am sure it cannot be necessary for me to mention for the information of any one here. There is no one in Ireland who has dissented from the general policy of his administration more strongly than I have; and, when occasion offered, I have never shrunk from emphatically expressing that dissent."







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